

OCTOBER 1, 1984

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# TIME

The Embassy  
Bombing

## GROMYKO COMES CALLING

High Stakes  
In U.S.-Soviet  
Relations





**THE  
GREAT AMERICAN  
SUCCESS STORY.  
CHAPTER TWO.**

## COVER: Gromyko's visit stirs 12 presidential politics and foreign policy

Reagan prepares for his first meeting with a top Soviet leader since taking office. With the campaign in full swing, the timing is tricky. But the discussions could give the incumbent a chance to score points with the electorate and achieve progress in the vital field of arms control. Gromyko's trip also focuses attention on the uncertainties within the Kremlin. See NATION.



## NATION: The Mondale camp sees 22 a turn-around in the campaign

The Democratic nominee has passed a low point, his planners believe, and he is now ready to move up. ▶ Reagan's artfully timed programs of Government giveaways help keep him visible and almost invulnerable. ▶ A report on Edwin Meese and his tangled finances declares that he broke no laws. ▶ Congress and the White House agree on military spending.



## WORLD: A U.S. embassy building in 30 Beirut is devastated by a suicide attack

Once again, a car bomb wrecks an American outpost in Lebanon's war-torn capital, this time killing at least twelve people and raising new questions about the security of U.S. diplomats in hostile territory. ▶ Tensions build in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon. ▶ In Jerusalem, the unity government approves bold austerity measures. ▶ A Soviet defector defects.



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**Economy & Business**  
Negotiators reach dramatic labor settlements in the auto and coal industries. ▶ Bankers are now more optimistic about the debt bomb.

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Once nimble in mind and body, former Champion Muhammad Ali may be suffering from a boxing-related brain disorder.

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A deadly citrus canker mysteriously invades orange nurseries in Florida, and even burning plants may not stop the disease.

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*Preppy Handbook* Editor Lisa Birnbach writes a salty guide to 186 American colleges. ▶ The latest SAT scores show an upswing.

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Computerized navigational devices prove to be worth their weight in gold to a growing mini-industry of modern-day treasure hunters.

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Pint-size plastic and metal robot figures that convert into trucks, motorcycles and planes are becoming the hottest new twist in U.S. toys.

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**Cinema**  
With only a handful of exceptions, black actors are having a tough time finding roles and role models in the Hollywood Establishment.

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**Press**  
Thought-provoking and eclectic, the *New Republic* has a small circulation but wields influence disproportionate to its size.

**Cover:**  
Photograph by  
Brian Alpert

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## A Letter from the Publisher

Andrei Gromyko first appeared on the cover of *TIME* in 1947, when he was Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister. He was featured most recently last June, when the magazine reported that his influence in the Kremlin had reached an unprecedented level. Gromyko's arrival in the U.S. to meet with President Reagan and Democratic Candidate Mondale this week gave *TIME*'s editors a valuable opportunity to assess the state of the superpower relationship and its impact on the domestic political scene.

Associate Editor William Doerner, who wrote the cover story, has visited the Soviet Union twice, in 1969 and 1979. He has devoted eight of his 17 years at *TIME*, including a two-year stint in Paris, to writing and editing on foreign affairs. "What struck me vividly about Gromyko's visit," says Doerner, "is that just about this time last year I was writing about the destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, as a result of which the Soviet Foreign Minister was barred from landing at the New York area's civilian airports. Now there is a completely different atmosphere."

White House Correspondent Laurence Barrett found that the visit had a more immediate impact. "While the Administration has been attempting to be relatively cool," he reports, "there has been a lot of boning up for what can be some quite heavyweight diplomacy. It is an interesting reminder that policy and politics are never very far apart." Diplomatic Correspondent



Associate Editor William Doerner

Strobe Talbott, an arms-control expert and author of the forthcoming *Deadly Gambits: The Reagan Administration and the Stalemate in Nuclear Arms Control*, contributed an analysis of prospects for the resumption of negotiations.

On the other side of the world, attitudes about the Gromyko-Reagan meeting were less upbeat. Moscow Bureau Chief Erik Amfiteatrof was startled by a question put to him as he went about his reporting last week. "A middle-aged Muscovite asked me if it was true that Reagan 'is like Hitler.' When I told her that this image was completely erroneous, she replied, 'But that is what our television commentators tell us.'"

For the cover image, Photographer Brian Alpert took a rare picture of Gromyko inside the Soviet mission in New York City, a building that few outsiders penetrate. "I glimpsed the Minister under a stained-glass window," recalls Alpert, "and was lucky enough to catch him in a rainbow of color. Maybe it's a sign of hope." Why did the mission let down its guard and allow an American photographer inside? Theorizes Alpert: "I've been taking pictures at the United Nations for ten years. They're used to me. Combine experience with *TIME*'s name and persistence, and you have an irresistible force."

*John A. Meyers*

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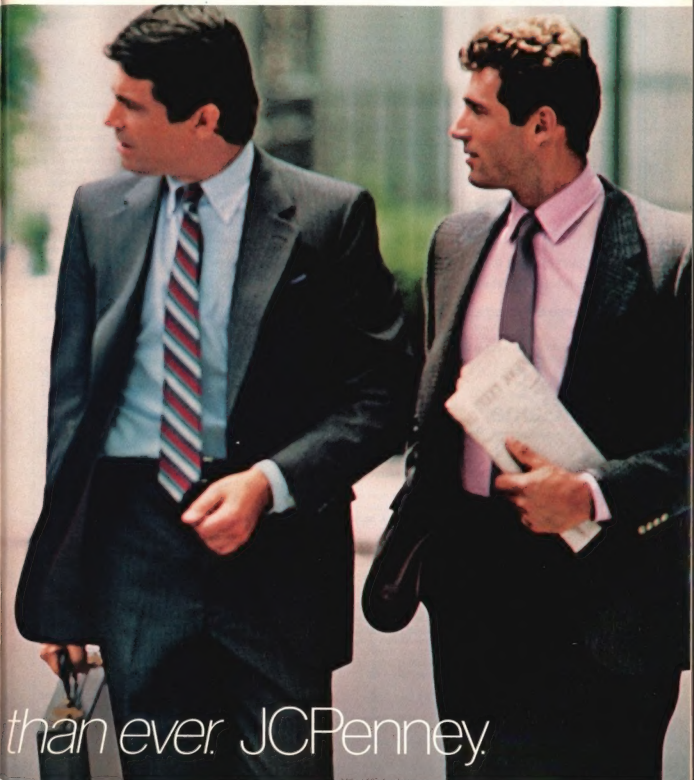
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## Letters

### Test-Tube Babies

To the Editors:

Your article "The New Origins of Life" (SCIENCE, Sept. 10) showed how painful infertility can be and what people will go through to conceive. The doctors who help these couples are not interfering with Mother Nature or God; they are answering prayers.

Nancy W. Heitz  
Crestwood, N.Y.

If the older generation found it difficult to teach us about the birds and the bees, my generation will find it impossible. How will I explain "X<sub>M</sub> & Y<sub>D</sub> by AI with Gestation M" to my daughter when she asks me where babies come from?

Nancy Hanna-Clavin  
Sag Harbor, N.Y.



Perhaps the growing inability of couples to conceive is a message from the powers above that we have more than obeyed the biblical commandment to go forth and multiply. Maybe it is time to take a breather.

Merrie Rich  
New York City

Making babies through bizarre and unnatural methods would not be necessary if the aborting of these innocents would cease. There would be enough little ones to go around.

Anita L. Bonnanzio  
Larchmont, N.Y.

I have two youngsters who suffer from disabilities that have a genetic basis. If artificial conception using eugenics gives my children a chance to have babies who will not have to endure the physical and social problems that accompany a genetic disability, I am for it.

Martha Z. Ward  
Appleton, Wis.

If the women seeking abortions would get together with the women who want to conceive but cannot, we could turn abor-

tion clinics into adoption agencies with a waiting period of only nine months. The world would be a better place.

Patty Hayek Richards  
New York City

My hope for children fertilized in vitro is that their parents are as diligent in raising their offspring as they are in making babies.

Sarah Ewald  
Houston

### Church and State

The real issue in this election is not the proper role of religion in government but the proper role of government in religion (NATION, Sept. 10). The notion of separation of church and state put forward by Thomas Jefferson appears in the Constitution only in reference to forbidding government involvement in religion, not vice versa.

Richard S. Andrews  
Chicago

I am an evangelical Christian who is concerned about the Reagan gospel that equates being a good Christian with espousing the President's political beliefs. Such stuff is the making of inquisitions. This Administration's record with regard to the disadvantaged and its blasé attitude toward the nuclear threat are not consistent with New Testament Christianity.

Marjorie Urban  
Perryton, Texas

We are fortunate to have a President who will speak out on controversial moral issues. Reagan is to be commended for not backing down despite strong opposition. He is my kind of man, and most assuredly my kind of leader.

Carol L. Holmes  
Philadelphia

It seems that instead of a second term, we are about to have a Second Coming.

Ulla Bauers  
Alta Loma, Calif.

President Reagan is wrong to address abortion, school prayer and a nuclear freeze as religious issues. They are social questions affecting everyone and require government intervention.


Rose L. Mahoney  
Buffalo

When the freeloaders of organized religion start paying taxes on their property and income, I will gladly hear them speak on politics.

John Metz  
Detroit

The well-funded Christian Right scares me. The image of God as a conservative Republican does not sit well.

Bill Dillon  
South Bend, Ind.



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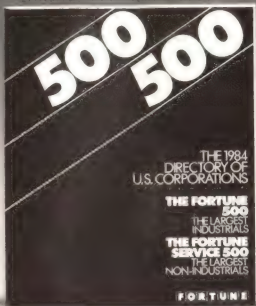
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REQUIRED READING FOR THE BUSINESS CLASS

## Letters

Where were the critics when religious leaders and their congregations gathered together for civil rights protests in the '60s and when they spoke out against America's war effort in Indochina or called for a nuclear freeze or campaigned for Jesse Jackson? It is not the participation of the churches in social and political issues that sends up howls but, rather, the choice of more conservative policies.

Gary S. Love  
San Diego

For too long the principle of a "wall of separation between church and state" has been applied as a "wall of separation between your church and my state."

Msgr. Charles F. Aucoin  
Mobile, Ala.

### Shared Breadbasket

Hugh Sidey's warning to "Pay Heed to the Prairie" [NATION, Sept. 10] struck a chord in my Midwestern heart. His admonition should remind us that agriculture is of primary importance to this nation and all other types of commerce and production are secondary. The greatest deterrent to a nuclear holocaust is our sharing with the Soviets the grain that comes from this nation's breadbasket.

J. Brien McGarvey  
LaRue, Ohio

### Afghanistan's Jihad

The article on Afghanistan [WORLD, Sept. 10] corroborates the view that continued resistance by Afghan freedom fighters can only lead to genocide. The U.S.S.R. will not back off until Afghanistan is subdued. Meanwhile, the U.S. goads the Afghans to resist, resulting in the destruction of the land and its people. The way out of this situation is to negotiate a truce. It is sad but true that "it is better to be Red than dead."

Louis Mihalyi  
Professor of Geography  
California State University  
Chico, Calif.

### Re-Educating Rejects

Government pressure on Prudential Insurance to train job applicants it once rejected, in order to further affirmative action, is incomprehensible [ECONOMY & BUSINESS, Sept. 3]. President Reagan is wrong if he thinks Government is becoming less involved in our daily lives.

Richard Walbert  
Tampa

It is too bad Prudential wanted Government contracts so badly that it was willing to accept the task of re-educating job applicants it had turned down. The company should have refused on principle to assume the obligation.

Craig Mertz  
Clifton, N.J.

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You conclude that by consenting to the Labor Department's proposal, Prudential has made life a little more equitable for everyone. It certainly did not make things more equitable for its policyholders, who have to fork out \$3 million to teach misfits who could not be educated by the school system. Furthermore, it tells minority children, "Do not try. The Government will pay you \$3.35 an hour to learn after you get out."

*Robert A. Haskell  
Long Beach, Calif.*

### Let Sleeping Bones Lie

Hooray for the Australian aborigines who fought to reclaim the bones of their ancestors [SCIENCE, Sept. 10]. It is time scientists were more sensitive to the values and mores of other people.

*Rena A. Morris  
Roseville, Minn.*

Scientists have tended to treat skeletons as their personal research domain, showing little concern for the people to whom these bones might be sacred. The only solution is to consult Native Americans before bones are removed from burial sites.

*Larry J. Zimmerman  
Professor of Anthropology  
University of South Dakota  
Vermillion, S. Dak.*

### Past Lives

Your article about the various celebrities who believe they were reincarnated was both interesting and ludicrous [BEHAVIOR, Sept. 10]. The phenomenon of reincarnation has been reasonably explained by mediums as nothing more than earth-bound spirits of people who actually did live at various times in history. These spirits are hoping to influence or simply relate well to the individual or celebrity about whom they hover.

*Pam O'Keefe  
Lakewood, Ohio*

It is no more difficult to believe that the energy we call mind exists after corporeal death than to believe electricity continues to exist after the lights go out.

*Ruth J. Smack  
Portland, Ore.*

I urge Americans who are unable to believe in reincarnation not to despair. As they get older, they will find they have indeed been through previous lives. On our anniversary my wife said, "I cannot believe we have been married 45 years." I answered, "That's because I am not the same man you married."

*Ralph L. Reeder  
West Lafayette, Ind.*

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2) Mail subscription:	4,384,000
C) Total paid circulation:	4,620,000
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2) Return from news agents:	363,000
G) Total:	5,230,000


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Allen M. Barr, Business Manager



## SOME SERIOUS NOTES ON MOVING.

By Victor Borge

When you move, make sure your mail arrives at your new address right after you do.

The key is this: Notify everyone who regularly sends you mail one full month before you move. One last serious note. Use your new ZIP Code. 

Don't make your mail come looking for you. Notify everyone a month before you move.

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An arrival with diplomatic ritual that was anything but routine: the Foreign Minister stepping off his jetliner in New York

BOB NOTER

TIME/OCTOBER 1, 1984

COVER STORY

## Gromyko Comes Calling

*His visit stirs presidential politics and U.S.-Soviet relations*

**T**he silvery Aeroflot Il-62M rolled up to a remote corner of New York City's John F. Kennedy Airport last week, its Cyrillic letters designating it an aircraft of the Soviet Union. Out stepped the dour and durable figure of Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, for 27 years the Soviet Union's top diplomat, who was arriving in New York to attend the 39th annual opening session of the United Nations General Assembly. Gromyko and his entourage of about 30 began walking toward an eleven-car motorcade lined up on the tarmac. Then, spotting a band of reporters and photographers on hand for his touch-down, Gromyko turned from the group of assistants and security men around him and doffed his hat in an unsmiling, enigmatic greeting.

Gromyko's arrival, though it had the trappings of diplomatic ritual, was anything but routine. A little more than a year ago, in the midst of the worldwide outrage over the Soviet Union's shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, the Governors of New York and New Jersey ordered the Port Authority to deny landing rights to Gromyko's jetliner at any of its airport facilities, including J.F.K. The Foreign Minister was sufficiently incensed by their action

to cancel abruptly and angrily his appearance at the U.N. Not even an offer by Washington to allow his craft to put down at a U.S. military airfield could persuade Gromyko to overlook what he clearly regarded as an officially tolerated affront to Soviet dignity. In subsequent months, he demonstrated, by words and attitude, his own displeasure with the U.S.

This year, by contrast, Gromyko was

arriving not only to deliver a major address at the U.N. outlining the Soviet Union's view of world affairs, a matter of growing concern to other nations as the result of seemingly immobilized leadership within the Kremlin. He was also scheduled to meet at the White House on Friday with Ronald Reagan, thus becoming the sole high-level Soviet official with whom the President has held discussions in more than 3½ years in office. Out of that session, at the very least, will come a fresh reading on the high-stakes state of relations between the superpowers, which have sunk to their lowest point in two decades. The meeting could also show some signs of diplomatic movement, perhaps even a breakthrough agreement of some sort. Finally, it could set the tone for U.S.-Soviet diplomacy in a second Reagan Administration.

Indeed, a remarkable aspect of Gromyko's trip was his willingness to interject himself into domestic electoral politics: in addition to calling on a President actively seeking re-election, he planned to meet the preceding day with Democratic Challenger Walter F. Mondale. Rarely if ever have lines between the nation's fiercely partisan politics at home and its foreign policy become so blended.



Dour and durable: an unsmiling wave from the tarmac

*Conveniently for both sides, there was ample precedent.*

and possibly blurred, just six weeks before a presidential election.

Conveniently for both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, there is ample precedent for meetings between Presidents and Gromyko in connection with ceremonial visits to the U.N. (There is no precedent, however, for talks between ranking Kremlin officials and campaigning presidential candidates from the opposition party.) The Soviet Foreign Minister has paid calls on six previous occupants of the White House under similar circumstances. Thus Administration officials were able to claim that Reagan's invitation to Gromyko was nothing more than a traditional gesture, though they neglected to point out that Washington has not extended the courtesy since 1978. Reagan expressed cautious optimism that a session with Gromyko might lift some of the "suspicion and hostility" that have lately poisoned U.S.-Soviet relations and "maybe convince him that the U.S. means no harm." He hardly needed to add that the chance to be seen shaking hands with Gromyko in the White House Oval Office could reap rich political dividends for himself. Such statesmanlike vignettes could only provide voters with a comforting counterpoint to his recurrent image as a diplomatic gunslinger.

The Soviets, as usual, remained close-mouthed about their motives for accepting the President's invitation. To many Sovietologists, the explanation that made the most sense could be found in American political polls. With Reagan so far in front, the men in the Kremlin may have decided that their foot dragging in arms negotiations had failed to damage his reelection chances and that it behooved them to set things right before he was assured of a second term. Said one State Department intelligence analyst: "The Soviets would just as soon prepare the ground for resuming arms talks now, rather than waiting until after the election."

**D**espite the extraordinary timing, there is certainly no lack of issues that are due, and in some cases dangerously overdue, for top-level discussion between the superpowers. Negotiations over nuclear arms control have been at a standstill since late last year, when the Soviets broke off talks involving both strategic and medium-range weapons to protest the arrival of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe (see box). In June, Moscow proposed holding yet another round of discussions, this one aimed at preventing the militarization of outer space. But when the Reagan Administration quickly accepted, on the condition that the talks be broadened to include offensive weapons, Moscow in effect withdrew the invitation. The effort to limit the doomsday arsenals of both sides has been stalled ever since.

A week of diplomacy and political drama was set to begin Sunday, with Reagan playing host at a reception at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel for 150 leaders of delegations to the General

Assembly session. Among other heads of state who planned to attend were Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte, Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín and the Sultan of Brunei. Gromyko planned to lead the Soviet delegation. Though it would be undiplomatic of Reagan and Gromyko to talk business at a social event, they will doubtless begin sizing each other up during small talk.

On Monday, the President was to deliver a major address before the General Assembly, his third appearance at the U.N. Though Reagan planned to touch

spend much of the day—at least four hours and possibly up to eight—with Secretary of State George Shultz at the U.S. Mission to the U.N. The Americans wanted to raise a wide variety of regional and bilateral issues during this session, including such disagreeable matters as Soviet aid to antigovernment rebels in El Salvador, Moscow's ties to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the continuing crackdown on freedoms in Poland. Shultz was prepared even to broach the subject of human rights in the Soviet Union, according to a senior White House



Reagan campaigning last week in Michigan: a rich discussion with the other side

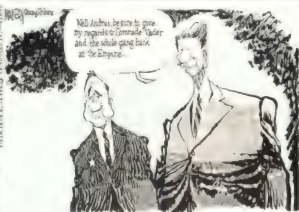
on a number of world trouble spots. White House aides expected him to refrain from finger pointing and instead express confidence that progress can be achieved through good-faith negotiations. The second half of his speech was to be devoted to U.S.-Soviet relations. Reagan planned to open this section by reasserting his commitment to negotiation rather than confrontation as a means of settling disputes. He was expected to list three short-term U.S. goals in dealing with Moscow: a series of discussions on regional crisis areas, including Afghanistan, Central America and southern Africa; comprehensive arms-control negotiations; and wider agreements on trade, cultural and scientific affairs.

On Wednesday, Gromyko planned to

official, primarily to satisfy various East European constituencies that take note of such frequently hopeless exchanges. Said a U.S. diplomat: "We will have our say, and Gromyko will just have to listen." The specific U.S. objective that Shultz wanted to emphasize most strongly was Soviet agreement on further, regular meetings between the two sides at the ministerial level. These would cover a range of subjects, most important a continuing search for ways to resume arms-control talks.

Gromyko's session with Mondale on Thursday was almost certain to be short on substance and long on exhortations for both sides to resume negotiating. For Mondale even to hint that he was actually dealing with Gromyko on matters about

# Nation



which he and Reagan are known to disagree would cause a political fire storm, throwing the Democratic challenger open to the charge of disloyalty. Mondale was the first to disclaim any such intention. "America has only one President at a time," he said he would tell the Soviet Foreign Minister. "When Mr. Reagan speaks to you on the 28th, he speaks for all Americans." Added David Aaron, Mondale's chief foreign affairs adviser. "He will support the idea of talks, period."

Mondale also intended to ask the Soviet Foreign Minister for his views on major issues, and perhaps to respond to them as a private citizen. But primarily he was determined to use the meeting as a reminder of his experience in East-West affairs, pointing out that as Senator and Vice President he had three discussions with Gromyko. The Soviet Foreign Minister, who in all probability viewed his meeting with Mondale mainly as a courtesy gesture, was unlikely to offer anything not already passed on to Shultz. By mutual consent, no communique describing either the tone or the content of the meeting was planned.

Gromyko gets a chance to speak his mind to the General Assembly on Thursday. The address had originally been set for Tuesday, before he sat down with either Shultz or Reagan. But after his arrival in New York, Gromyko capably rescheduled to the later date for "technical reasons." That would give him the option to tone down the expected tough line of the speech if he wanted to respond favorably to Reagan's address or to overtures made by Shultz in private. Most analysts predicted that Gromyko would stick to his original text. "He will probably give us a good deal of tough stuff and lay out old positions as new Soviet initiatives," says a senior Kremlinologist in Washington. "But there may well be a subtle line or two indicating whether the Russians are ready to do some real business."

Then, on Friday, Gromyko heads for the main event of the week: his discussion with Reagan at the White House. The President prepared for his first encounter with high-level Soviet officialdom by reviewing thoroughly the numerous proposals made by the U.S. over the past ten months to get arms negotiations back on track, as well as memos from Shultz and former Secretary of State Alexander Haig on their previous conversations with Gromyko. As has been the case throughout his Administration, Reagan received conflicting advice from two ideologically opposed schools of influence around him. One, grouped within the civilian quarters of the Pentagon, urged Reagan to avoid offering any concessions in his arms-control approach, arguing that no progress at all is preferable to an agreement that might preserve the Soviets' lead in the arms race. The other, centered in the State Department, counseled flexibility if the Soviets should prove willing to open wide-ranging negotiations. Says a top White House aide: "It's the same old story—State versus Defense on the question of whether we should make a proposal to the Soviets."

The specific provisions envisioned by advocates of flexibility vary significantly, but one possible future sequence of trade-offs might go like this: if the Soviets

agreed to resume START, the negotiations aimed at reducing strategic nuclear weapons, the U.S. might consider limitations on antisatellite (ASAT) weapons, particularly those aimed at high-altitude satellites. ASAT is a key Soviet concern because a space race would be extremely costly and American technological superiority might give the U.S. a decisive edge in the competition for military domination of the heavens. However, Washington would not do so until after the testing later this year of a fighter-launched antisatellite weapon. The State Department group hopes that the talks would eventually be expanded to include most other issues on the arms-control agenda, including the suspended negotiations on medium-range weapons (INF) and new strategic defenses, space based and otherwise.

The hard-line faction opposes any new arms-control measures on the ground that military competition is inherent in the superpower relationship, and the U.S. should not be fettered by arms-control agreements as it tries to match or surpass the Soviets. As one hard-liner put it early in Reagan's Administration, "Arms control is bad medicine; it is, *ipso facto*, bad." Some of the arms-control opponents urged Reagan to use the meeting with Gromyko as a high-level gripe session to complain about a number of Soviet transgressions, prominently including alleged violations by Moscow of previous arms-control agreements.

The intramural dispute came to a head last week at a meeting of the National Security Planning Group, an informal panel of top advisers that deliberates with the President on major foreign policy and national security questions. After hearing the arguments from both sides, Reagan chose to steer a center course, but one that will leave him with little leeway to make new proposals for arms control. He decided against offering any specifics to the Soviets at this time, which State Department moderates

I WANT TO ASSURE YOU, MR. GROMYKO... THIS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH ELECTION YEAR POLITICS...

GOOD!!... THEN YOU WON'T MIND IF I JOIN YOU!!...



had been advocating as a way of drawing the Kremlin back to the bargaining table. This was in line with Reagan's tendency over the past two years, encouraged by National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, to split the difference between competing factions.

More broadly, Reagan vowed to maintain a posture of maximum flexibility. A key Reagan adviser paraphrased the President as saying, "Look, I am ready for a very rich discussion with the other side on arms control. But after this long hiatus, we first have to clear the air. We have to see if they're ready to talk seriously on several problems."

Accordingly, said this adviser, Reagan was eager to talk expansively about the range of issues that the U.S. is prepared to discuss further. His openers: a willingness to negotiate limits on space-based weapons, a declaration that the U.S. has some new ideas about cutbacks in strategic forces, and an offer to work out a new negotiating format if the Soviets want it. But the President ruled out specific *quid pro quos* for getting talks started again, such as agreeing to a moratorium on testing antisatellite weapons in exchange for a Soviet return to START. That much of the decision pleased the hard-liners. Some other elements did not. Reagan turned aside their advice to spend much of the meeting airing anti-Soviet grievances. Moreover, he specifically declined to make public the Administration's list of suspected Soviet arms-control violations. That, said Reagan, would amount only to a gratuitous provocation on the part of the U.S.

The one thing that could conceivably change this fairly cautious approach would be a specific overture of some kind from Gromyko. U.S. officials candidly admitted that they did not have the slightest notion of what, if any, initiatives the Soviets were bringing with them. It is possible that Gromyko could table some specific proposals in his session with Shultz that would cause the U.S. side to regroup hastily. Said a senior State Department official, hoping that this would happen: "Whether it makes sense to talk specifics depends on whether the Soviets are prepared really to re-engage on arms control." But if Reagan holds to his decision to deal mostly in generalities, he is unlikely to elicit much movement from the Soviet side.

Much depends on Gromyko's reaction to any new approaches suggested by Reagan. Longtime observers of the Soviet Foreign Minister have nicknamed him "Grim Grom" for his stony demeanor and negative responses to pleas for Soviet compromise. Says a U.S. diplomat: "He loves to put you on the defensive." At his



Crushing the Communist system: a Pravda cartoon of the President

last meeting with Gromyko, this past January in Stockholm, Shultz found his Soviet counterpart in such profoundly bearish spirits that he decided against bringing up an exploratory arms-talks proposal, which he had been authorized to present only after considerable infighting within the Administration. A display of Grim Grom behavior at the White House would almost certainly strengthen the hand of the Pentagon hard-liners in a second Reagan Administration.

Even a moderately positive signal of Soviet willingness to explore new avenues of negotiation would boost the influence of arms-control moderates. Such a sign would not necessarily or even probably indicate a major turn-around in Soviet attitudes toward the U.S. Indeed, a Western diplomat in Moscow cautioned that "it is probably a mistake to build a universal field theory" around the outcome of this week's meeting, whatever it turns out to

be. But an upbeat response would at least indicate that the Soviets have decided to abandon their present policy of icy silence. Said Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt, a leading advocate of a somewhat more flexible U.S. negotiating stance: "I would argue at this stage that the Soviet Union recognizes that it must have a dialogue with the U.S."

A sign that the Soviets grudgingly realize the need for contacts with the U.S. appeared two weeks ago in their domestic press and on the TASS foreign wire. In a historical analogy that would be hard to decipher anywhere outside the Soviet Union, the state media sought to justify Moscow's infamous 1939 nonaggression pact with

Hitler as an attempt to avert a world war, and pointedly added that the lessons of that period were pertinent. Only an audience that has heard and read almost daily allusions to Reagan as a power-mad ideologue intent on crushing the Communist system would recognize the editorial as Moscow's way of preparing the Soviet citizenry for news of the Gromyko-Reagan meeting, which has still not been officially announced. Whether this awkward analogy was intended to justify anything beyond the need to meet was not clear, but the context in which it placed the whole affair was hardly cause for encouragement. Nor for that matter was the blizzard of cartoons that continued to appear in Soviet periodicals depicting Reagan in grotesquely bullying poses.

From the beginning, the idea of holding high-level talks with the Soviets owed less to any encouragement from them than to the onset of the U.S. political season.

Reagan's campaign advisers began warning him more than a year ago that his primary weakness in the polls involved foreign policy areas, particularly those pertaining to war and peace. Voter doubts about the President's ability to keep the nation out of military entanglements have persisted throughout the campaign, even as Reagan's popular edge over Mondale has widened in most other respects. The most recent Washington *Post*-ABC News poll, for example, in which the President recorded an overall lead of 16 points, showed that voters had more confidence in Mondale than in Reagan, by 47% to 41%, as a leader who could keep the U.S. out of war. "No question," says an Administration official, "on the war-and-peace issue, Reagan was vulnerable."

The President began toning down his anti-Soviet rhetoric in January with a speech from the East Room of the White House in which he said that the U.S. "must and will engage the Soviets in a dialogue as serious and constructive as possible." That was followed by two big setbacks: Shultz's



Soviet depiction of Reagan in a "crazed rodeo"

## Who's Running the Show?

Andrei Gromyko's trip to the U.S. has given new urgency to a task that preoccupies Western experts on Soviet affairs: interpreting the current murky status of the Kremlin leadership. Says a top U.S. analyst in Washington: "We've got to get a better fix on who is running the show. This ignorance could really screw up our decisions."

The mystery facing the specialists deepened with the brief, repeated appearances on Moscow television last week of a strikingly frail Soviet Leader Konstantin Chernenko. The General Secretary, who took office in February, had vanished from public view on July 13, ostensibly to enjoy a summer vacation. He had been seen only once after that, presenting medals to three cosmonauts in a ten-minute film clip on the Sept. 6 Moscow evening news.

Chernenko's latest appearances, within days of his 73rd birthday, were hastily arranged. One occasion was the presen-

tation of the Order of Lenin to Harilaos Florakis, head of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Greece. During the proceedings, Chernenko looked visibly weaker than he had two weeks earlier. He leaned on the corner of a desk for support and had difficulty breathing as he read his prepared text. Three nights later, Chernenko turned up again on the news program, giving a strained, five-minute message to the Finnish people.

The strange vignettes only confirmed what most Western analysts have suspected: Chernenko is in precarious health. In an effort to determine the extent of his illness, CIA experts have been running the Soviet-made clip of his Sept. 6 appearance through a sophisticated film analyzer, frame by frame. Their conclusion: snippets were cut from the film to eliminate some of Chernenko's more obvious stumbles and trembling. Although an exact prognosis cannot be made from a piece of celluloid, it is clear, says a senior British diplomat, that Chernenko "does not look like a man with too long to go before incapacity or death removes him from the scene." The Soviet leader is known to suffer from emphysema and a heart condition.

The real problem lies in deciding what relation, if any, exists between the state of Chernenko's health and the way decisions are being made in the twelve-man Soviet Politburo. Specialist opinion varies widely, but there is broad agreement that the Kremlin is preoccupied by the recurring problem of succession. The process is more complicated and painful than usual because it is the third period of uncertainty in two years (Leonid Brezhnev died in November 1982, Yuri Andropov last February). The upshot, says Harvard University Professor Richard Pipes, is "a profound crisis and lack of direction." Kremlinologist Marshall Goldman of Wellesley College in Massachusetts calls the Politburo situation "the worst of all circumstances. Everyone knows Chernenko is sick, so no change is possible."

Others take a slightly more sanguine view. Says a Western diplomat in Moscow: "I really think Chernenko is there just to keep the political mechanism going until they decide

what to do. For the moment, it looks like a collective leadership with everyone very much in charge of his own portfolio." According to Middlebury College President Olin Robison, who has had frequent dealings with high-level Soviet officials, collective leadership in the Politburo has gradually grown more diffuse since Chernenko took office. Says he: "There is no longer any strong personality at the center. The people around Chernenko are stronger than he is."

Those explanations dovetail nicely with the apparent rise in Gromyko's influence. He derives clout from long experience as the Kremlin's top diplomat and a flawless record of cleaving to the collective Politburo line. Says Uri Ra'anana, professor at Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy: "I am astounded at Gromyko's authority. He has absolutely no political power base." Agrees Pipes: "By default, he has moved in."

However complicated the Politburo's internal state of affairs, Chernenko's public appearances indicate an effort on the part of the leadership to keep his image at center stage. In-

deed, some analysts speculate that such recent Soviet actions as the harsh treatment of Dissident Andrei Sakharov and the pressure brought to bear on East German Party Leader Erich Honecker to cancel a trip to West Germany are similar bids to reinforce the regime's monolithic authority. Another such incident may have been the sudden announcement two weeks ago that Moscow's outspoken Military Chief of Staff and Deputy Defense Minister, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, had been replaced. Last week a Soviet military official told a U.S. arms-control expert that Ogarkov had been named to head the country's second-ranking military academy, a job transfer that Pipes calls "both a demotion and a humiliation."

While Western analysts agree that the succession crisis is far from resolved, they point out that the Kremlin's options are limited. Adam Ulam, director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, and others note that any aspirant for the top Soviet leadership post must be both a full member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, which comprises more than 300 members. The importance of having those two titles became clear when Andropov was hastily made a party secretary as a prelude to assuming the top job. The only men who fit the bill at the moment are two of the youngest Politburo members, Grigori Romanov, 61, and Mikhail Gorbachev, 53. U.S. analysts believe that Gorbachev is now firmly established as the No. 2 man in the Kremlin. Thus, despite the political sclerosis, there are indications that the Politburo may be getting ready to hand over power to a younger generation.

Part of the dead weight on the Politburo is the remorselessly accumulating array of Soviet internal problems, ranging from agricultural failure to shrinking productivity to endemic corruption. Recent experience has been that East-West tensions fester when the Soviet leadership withdraws into a shell. The sight of Andrei Gromyko's familiar face in the U.S. may be a signal that the Kremlin is aware of the need for a new and healthier equilibrium.

—By George Russell.

Reported by Erik Amfilatov/Moscow and Richard Hornik/Boston



Visibly weaker: Chernenko with Greek Party Leader Florakis

inability in Stockholm to sound out Gromyko on a possible fresh approach to START, and Moscow's scuttling of its own offer to discuss in Vienna the militarization of space. But Shultz was determined to keep his lines of communication open, primarily through Soviet Ambassador to Washington Anatoli Dobrynin and the U.S. envoy to Moscow, Arthur Hartman. Finally, State Department officials hit upon the idea of getting Reagan and Gromyko together by reviving an old custom: extending an invitation to the Soviet Foreign Minister during his visit to the U.N. Reagan enthusiastically approved the plan. Says a senior State Department official: "The really important thing was that this was something Ronald Reagan really wanted to do."

**T**he invitation was passed through normal diplomatic channels in late August and was accepted within a few days. Apart from whatever internal Kremlin politics was involved in the decision to agree to the meeting, Western diplomats in Moscow speculate that the Soviets were in effect acknowledging their responsibility for a diplomatic misfire in proposing, then canceling, the offer of space-weapons talks in Vienna. "If they had really wanted negotiations, they didn't go about it in a way that would lead to negotiations," says a Western diplomat in Moscow. "They really couldn't say no this time." Observes Arnold Horelick, a Rand Corp. expert on the Soviet Union: "The Kremlin leaders are sensitive about being depicted as sulking, hunkered down and petulant. It would have been awkward for the Soviet leadership to turn down such an invitation."

Gromyko's meeting with Mondale, by contrast, was offered by the Soviets, according to the Democrat's aides. Contact with the former Vice President's campaign was made in Washington on Sept. 10 through Barry Carter, a Mondale foreign policy adviser, by a Soviet academic. Over coffee the Soviet, whom Carter had known previously but declines to identify, said that if Mondale would like to have a chat with Gromyko, a meeting could be arranged. The offer was presented to the candidate by Aaron on a campaign flight. Mondale pressed Aaron on whether he thought the Soviet proposal was serious, mulled over the political implications, then made up his mind to pursue it. "I've thought about it for a couple of days and decided this was something I could do that probably no one else could do," Mondale told TIME last week. "I think the Soviets and maybe many others misunderstand our campaigns and our two-party system. I



Mondale: Reagan is "essentially absent" in policy formation

wanted them to know that we want these talks to succeed." Administration officials seemed unperturbed by the prospect of Gromyko sitting down with the political opposition. Said Burt: "I hope Mondale softens him up."

Gromyko's scheduled sessions with the American leaders were very nearly waylaid by a totally unexpected diplomatic incident in the far northern reaches of the remote Bering Sea. There, on Sept. 12, the *Frieda K.*, a 101-ft. supply vessel with five Alaskans on board, accidentally

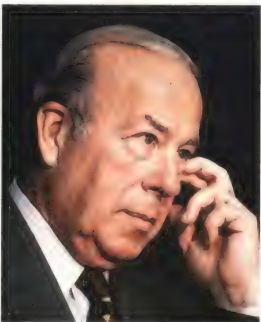
strayed inside Soviet territorial waters and was seized by a Soviet border-patrol boat. The Americans, who were on a routine trip to carry supplies to a seismographic research vessel in the Bering Strait, were taken to the bleak Siberian outpost of Ureliki on Provideniya Bay and confined. Only after the U.S. launched formal protests in Washington and Moscow last week did the Soviets become cooperative in releasing the Americans and their ship. Captain Tabb Thoms and his crew of four were finally put aboard the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Sherman* during a prearranged rendezvous in international waters. The episode underscored the propensity of the Soviets to overreact to even the most innocent intrusion into their territory.

Reagan's move toward election-year moderation has influenced not only his attitude toward U.S.-Soviet relations but foreign policy in other areas. In El Salvador the Administration has basked in the success of Duarte's firm governing hand since his election in May.

In Nicaragua, Reagan has carefully muted his rhetorical support for the U.S.-backed *contras* in their effort to overthrow the Sandinista government, and in June he dispatched Shultz on a surprise trip to Managua in an effort to open negotiations with the Marxist-led regime. Even Mondale's advisers admit that the President has succeeded in lowering the profile of the Central American issue. "He's calmed it down," says Carter. "There are no Army maneuvers in Honduras now."

Reagan has talked even less about some other areas of foreign policy, notably the Middle East, because he has little to show for U.S. efforts there. The vaunted Reagan peace plan has been rejected by both the Arabs and the Israelis, and the "vital American interests" he once spoke of in Lebanon are a shambles. Last week's car bombing of the U.S. embassy annex in Beirut was a tragic reminder of similar attacks that took the lives of 278 Americans there last year, and the subsequent U.S. withdrawal from Lebanon (see *WORLD*). It was also stark testimony to the possibility that events beyond U.S. control may yet undermine Reagan's strategy of down-playing foreign policy. But for the moment, the combination of soft talk and more moderate policies seems to be playing well. "I don't think we will be hurt by foreign policy," concludes a top adviser. "I just don't feel a lot of unrest out there."

Mondale is doing his best to prove otherwise. After first reacting to the latest Beirut car bombing with a statement of sympathy for the victims' families and support for the President, Mondale harshly criti-



Shultz: the principal object is talks on a regular basis  
A fresh reading on the state of affairs between superpowers.

## Nation

cized the Administration for failing to anticipate the attack. The U.S. had received clear-cut threats that terrorists planned to strike at a U.S. installation in Beirut, Mondale said, and it knew from prior experience that a car bomb was the most likely weapon. In addition, he said, some of the security measures recommended by the Long Commission, established in the wake of the Marine barracks bombing to study ways of preventing future attacks, had not been carried out at the Beirut annex. Charged Mondale: "Based on what we have learned over the past 24 hours, the Reagan Administration failed to respond properly to all of these warnings."

Mondale has been making some mid-course adjustments to his foreign policy positions, though aides insist they do not add up to the "move to the right" that some analysts have claimed. "There's a different political context from the primaries," says Carter. "He's saying the same things with a different emphasis." Even

so, in an interview with the *New York Times* last week, Mondale said that as President he would have used force in Grenada "to go in there and protect American lives," just as Reagan did last October. He did not say so at the time, Mondale explained, because he was not sure U.S. lives were at risk; he is now satisfied that Americans on the Caribbean island "were in trouble."

**D**iscussing what he would do if his proposed negotiations with the Sandinistas should fail and Nicaragua continued to interfere in the affairs of its neighbors, Mondale gave a startling answer that kept him and his aides backpedaling furiously for much of the week. The candidate first said he would "continue to interdict" and would apply pressure through European allies and the Contadora countries (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela), measures that he had previously mentioned.

Then he continued, "And we should try to quarantine Nicaragua if it uses force outside of its borders." A military quarantine is generally considered an act of war, and it is a far more drastic step than any so far advocated by Reagan, making Mondale sound more hawkish than his opponent. Mondale twice amended the answer in later remarks, saying he had meant that a quarantine would be a legitimate response to the establishment of a Soviet or Cuban military base in Nicaragua, and then only as an "option" to be used in consultation with U.S. allies in the region. But the hedges, and his frequent reliance on aides for clarification, only served to undercut his charge that Reagan is "essentially absent" from the formation of U.S. foreign policy.

Mondale has been especially tough on Reagan for his failure to improve relations with the Soviets. He has effectively attacked him as the first President since Eisenhower who has failed to ne-

## Suspended Conversations

**I**f Andrei Gromyko's meeting with President Reagan is to lead to any substantive U.S.-Soviet bargaining on nuclear arms, it presumably would involve reopening in some form two sets of negotiations that broke off in Geneva at the end of 1983:

► The INF (for Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) talks. When they began in November 1981, the U.S. planned to

install in Western Europe 572 single-warhead Pershing II and Tomahawk cruise missiles to counter Soviet deployment of triple-warhead SS-20 missiles (about 270 in place then, more than 370 now) that were or could be targeted at Western Europe. The opening U.S. position was the "zero option": no U.S. deployment, scrapping of the entire Soviet SS-20 force. Later Reagan proposed an "interim solution": if the Soviets would reduce the number of SS-20s, the U.S. would deploy fewer than 572 missiles, but still match the remaining SS-20s warhead for warhead. Moscow offered varying reductions in the number of SS-20s, if the U.S. would cancel its entire deployment. One proposal was to cut back to 162 Soviet missiles, matching the number in the independent British and French nuclear forces, which the U.S. insisted should be left out of the bargaining. The Soviets painted themselves into a corner by vowing never to accept the stationing of a single Pershing II or Tomahawk in Western Europe; once the U.S. deployment actually started, just before Thanksgiving in 1983, their own proclamations left them no choice but to break off the talks.

► The START (for Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) bargaining. These negotiations, which began in June 1982, concerned the long-range nuclear weapons that the U.S.

and Soviet Union would fire directly at each other in war.

The U.S. proposed a formula for reductions that would have forced extra-deep cuts in the number of Moscow's heavy land-based missiles, which one Soviet official described as "the absolute mainstays of our defense." In October 1983, under heavy pressure from congressional critics, Reagan incorporated into his proposal parts of an alternative idea, the "double build-down": each side would be required to destroy two or more older nuclear weapons for every new one added to its arsenal. The Soviets objected

that the formula by which such reductions would have been calculated was weighted against them.

Throughout the talks, Moscow clung to a proposal to establish ceilings on strategic "launchers" (missile silos, submarine missile-launching tubes, intercontinental bombers) lower than those set by the SALT II treaty. The U.S. complained that the Kremlin would retain a long lead in monster land-based missiles. The Reagan Administration regards these as the most "destabilizing" and dangerous nuclear weapons because they could deliver a devastating first strike. Unlike the INF talks, the START negotiations were never formally ended. But after the deployment of U.S. Pershing II and Tomahawk missiles in Europe began, the Soviets contended that they would have to reassess the global nuclear balance before pro-



Test launch of a Pershing II in Texas

posing a date to restart START. Twenty-two months later they still show no signs of ever doing so.

Thus, while the two sets of negotiations were officially separate, they inevitably affected each other. If they are ever resumed, separately or together, agreement seems possible only on the basis of a comprehensive deal involving intermediate-range and strategic weapons, land-based and submarine-based systems, bombers, ballistic and cruise missiles—the works.



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## Nation

### The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

## Just Like Old Times

gotiate some measure of arms control, and the first since Hoover who has failed even to meet with top Soviet officials. He has taken the President to task for approving offers in arms-control negotiations that Reagan's own military advisers warn have no chance of Soviet acceptance.

Reagan's earlier failure to meet with Soviet officials will automatically become a muted issue after Gromyko's visit to the White House. The big question is whether Mondale's other charges will as well. Conceivably, the former Vice President could benefit politically from a failed Reagan-Gromyko meeting, particularly if the President is seen as overdemanding or arrogant. In virtually any other circumstance, however, Mondale has little choice but to offer his support of the U.S. position. Says a Reagan campaign official: "Either Mondale ends up looking like he's being played as a patsy, or he looks like his position is not that different from Reagan's on arms control."

**F**or Reagan, the meeting with Gromyko carries far greater political rewards, though the chance for failure still exists if the two sides find themselves further apart than ever. Any decrease in U.S.-Soviet tensions achieved as a result of the session would be a campaign loto prize, one more piece of happy news to include in Reagan's list of reasons for feeling good about America. The White House is also ready to prevent Reagan from being damaged by a display of recalcitrance on Moscow's part. Should the talks fail, says a White House aide, "the President will have tried his best, and we'll stress that fact. It takes two to make a deal. The people know that." Only if Reagan comes across as the uncooperative negotiator would he be likely to suffer in voter esteem, and his stage manager's role as host of the meeting should enable him to prevent that negative impression.

Politicians speak, alternately with dread and delight, about a campaign's "October surprise," the unexpected element thrown into a race just far enough ahead of Election Day to have an impact. For a sitting President it generally comes in one of two forms: an overseas crisis beyond his control, or a bold stroke, at home or abroad, at his own initiative. Two months ago, almost no one would have predicted that 1984's October surprise not only would arrive near the end of September, but would show up in the form of an invited diplomatic guest from Moscow. For Ronald Reagan it could be the crowning piece of his fabled political luck, ensuring another term in the White House. For the nation, provided Reagan uses his luck skillfully, it could mark a new beginning in the urgent task of controlling the runaway nuclear arms race.

—By William R. Doerner. Reported by Lawrence L. Barrett and Johanna McGeary/Washington and Jack E. White with Mondale

**T**he Secret Service will drive Andrei Gromyko through the gates of the White House to make sure he arrives safe and sound for his meeting with Ronald Reagan. Both the President's military aide and the chief of protocol will be out under the West Wing Portico to add dignity when Old Grom, as he is semiaffectionately called by some diplomats, sets his feet on White House ground again after a six-year absence.

He will be steered through the Roosevelt Room, where he will pass a portrait of F.D.R., the first President he called on. Gromyko could find his way in the dark, since he has logged dozens of visits to the Oval Office. When he sits down in front of the fireplace, in one of the Martha Washington chairs, to the President's left, Gromyko will find he is quite an attraction. At least six of the President's top men will be clustered around to weigh every word and interpret every gesture for some glint of the future relations between the superpowers.

After two hours or so of talk, the 75-year-old visitor will be escorted through the Rose Garden to the Family Dining Room. There will be some chilled Stolichnaya vodka from Mother Russia to wash down Chesapeake blue crabs out of

Chief Henry Haller's imaginative kitchen. Old Grom can demolish succulent rolled veal, served on Lyndon Johnson's china and set off with a California wine. Finally, Gromyko will be escorted to the diplomatic doorway in the back of the White House for his exit, far from probing cameras and obstreperous reporters. It is a vantage point with a magnificent panorama of the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial. On a clear autumn day the air seems to rustle with the presidential whispers that have changed history.

That is the way we deal these days with an eminence from the "evil empire." Gromyko is the first top Soviet official Reagan has been able to get his hands on when he needed to. Old Grom cannot help mustering an inward smile about the royal treatment that follows a period of international sulking.

Reagan will not confront Gromyko. The President is tough in policy, in speeches, on paper. Eyeball to eyeball he softens, not hardens. He listens, smiles, talks softly, encouragingly. What will Gromyko hear? How will he size up the leader of the free world? We still wonder whether Nikita Khrushchev's assessment of John Kennedy launched the Cuban missile crisis and whether Leonid Brezhnev's contempt for Jimmy Carter encouraged the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

For his part, Reagan is utterly baffled why the Soviets keep saying they fear him and America, because neither has ever had any ambitions for empire or world revolution. Can he get a clue from Old Grom? Probably not. Gromyko is in his own way just as skillful an actor as Reagan. Gromyko has in the past reminisced about his warm times in the White House with Franklin Roosevelt and Cordell Hull. But just a few months ago he conducted a cold and programmed shouting match with Secretary of State George Shultz in Madrid over the Korean airline incident.

Last week former Secretary of State Dean Rusk recalled how he watched Gromyko's face and body language as John Kennedy warned him about putting missiles into Cuba. Gromyko never gave himself away. He denied the missiles were on the island. "We knew the missiles were there," said Rusk. "The President had a desk full of photos. I'm sure Gromyko knew. He was doing what Moscow told him to do." Rusk took him to dinner that fateful October night, and Old Grom's mask remained impenetrable through vodka, wine and cognac.

Still, says Rusk, we need more "pointless talk" at the highest levels of diplomacy. Out of such seemingly aimless moments come feelings that at first are formless but can change the world some day just as surely as the strongest armies. Something could start this week. Stranger things have happened at lunch in the White House.



Meeting with President Kennedy in 1961

## Poised for the Big Move Up

*In the Mondale camp, there is hope that the worst is past*



Call it fantasy, wishful thinking, whistling in a graveyard. But Walter Mondale and his planners believe that the Democratic nominee has passed the low point of his presidential campaign and is poised to move up. One or two less self-interested observers suspect that they just might be right.

The most visible signs, to be sure, point in the opposite direction. Polls have never looked gloomier for Democrats: a national survey by NBC News, published last week, showed Ronald Reagan leading Mondale by an astonishing 62% to 32%. Press coverage of the campaign is still predominantly funereal in tone. A sample headline from the *New York Times*, over a story about the attitudes of Democrats running for state or local offices: **SOME CANDIDATES FEAR MONDALE'S VISITS**. The nominee is having trouble these days simply making himself heard over the jeers of pro-Reagan hecklers who now turn up at almost every campaign stop. Chants of "Mondale's a wimp" just about drowned out a speech the Democratic candidate gave in Los Angeles last week to students at the University of Southern California.

Why, then, the belief that the worst is over? "Mostly instinct," said Mondale in a campaign-plane interview with *TIME*. "I think the crowds are more excited. I think I'm getting my arguments across." He referred to an endorsement by the Sierra Club, the first in that environmentalist organization's 92-year history. He also pointed to the success of his running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, in getting Chicago's feuding Democrats, Mayor Harold Washington and Councilman Edward Vrdolyak, to share a platform with her in a display of party unity. Said Mondale: "I think that means something. I think there's evidence that we're starting to move."

There are some other signs too. Scheduling and advance work have improved after a disastrous start that was symbolized by a Mondale visit to a factory in Green Bay, Wis., two weeks ago: he had to wait for what seemed an eternity before any workers showed up to shake hands. At a meeting with top aides in Tupelo, Miss., following the fiasco, Mondale demanded that they stop arranging "cutside" photo opportunities and schedule only

"substantive forums" at which he could talk issues to live audiences. He also ordered longtime Aide Mike Berman to take tighter control of advance work. The result: crowds turned out last week and microphones worked, as at times they had not during earlier Mondale appearances.

The candidate has put away the charts of Reagan deficits that showed up badly on TV and adopted a sharper speaking style. He often denounces Re-



At a U.S.C. rally, Walter Mondale chides his hecklers

gan for "official cruelty" in cutting Government social programs. In his U.S.C. speech, he recalled that Reagan had opposed the 1963 test-ban treaty, and declared: "If Mr. Reagan had had his way, our children would be drinking milk with strontium 90." This line has its dangers: it sometimes sounds slightly whiny, and it veers perilously close to the kind of *ad hominem* attack on a highly popular President that could backfire. Mondale has also flubbed his remarks: at a rally in Birmingham, he said "Mr. America" instead of "Mr. Reagan." On the other hand, Mondale has begun to make an issue of the heckling, rebuking both the protesters ("We will be heard!" he shouts) and their hero, Reagan. Says Mondale: "If I thought anybody was doing this to him on my behalf, I'd stop it." Crowds are warming to the Democrat's tough line. In a Seattle appearance during which he repeatedly taunted Reagan for failing to say what he would do about arms control, deficits, education and other issues during a

second term, Mondale prompted a union audience to chant after every sentence, "Where's the plan?"

Mondale's aides are counting heavily on the two TV debates with Reagan, which were firmly scheduled last week, to give their champion an opportunity to cut into the President's lead (see box). They claim to see evidence in private surveys that Mondale is starting to lure wavering Democrats back to his cause. At the moment, published national polls show the exact opposite, but it would not be surprising if Mondale's poll standings improve a bit, if only because they are scraping the rock-bottom minimum level of support that past election results suggest can be expected by any major-party candidate.

Pondering all these hints, *New York Times* Columnist William Safire, a Reagan supporter and former Nixon speechwriter, suggested last week that Mondale might yet put on a stretch drive reminiscent of Silky Sullivan, a horse that ran a quarter-century ago and was famous for close finishes in races that appeared hopelessly lost. Safire even provided a script of sorts. Key elements: Mondale hecklers offend the voters' sense of fairness; the size of Reagan's lead triggers "a perverse feeling in people"; and "media that profit from heightened interest in a contest" play up "the first reports of narrowing gaps in the polls," helping to make it a closer race.

Could be, but all this is speculative. Even in the Mondale camp, some aides joke about updating their résumés. Others would like to devote \$3 million in campaign funds to clearing Mondale's debts from last spring's primary battles. This is the horror of national Democratic fund raisers, who view that plan as equivalent to throwing in the towel against Reagan.

The most optimistic of Mondale's advisers concede that time is running short to start a Silky Sullivan finish. "We think we're seeing movement that won't show up for a while in the national polls," says one. "But you need ice water in your veins for the next couple of weeks." Robert Strauss, the Democrats' Mr. Fixit, who heads a council of party elders advising Mondale, insists, "It's the seventh-inning stretch, not the top of the ninth." Nonetheless, he also focuses on the next two weeks as the period during which Mondale must win back enough disaffected Democrats to produce some perceptible improvement in his national-poll standings. Says Strauss: "They have to come back through the door for him. If that doesn't happen, obviously he's through." —By George J. Church, Reported by Jack E. White with Mondale



Iowa Farmer John Brockschink, between his son-in-law and a visitor, shows off his land

## Christmas on the Hustings

Reagan hands out election-year goodies to key voters



Between high interest rates and falling land prices, many farmers are in serious trouble, suffocating in a credit squeeze. So what is the presidential candidate's solution?

During a campaign trip to rural Iowa, he outlined "a major initiative to assist farmers trying to cope with debt burdens." It was an emergency aid scheme of the kind Democrats are wont to suggest, involving a stretched-out repayment schedule for Government loans and

federal guarantees of private credit. The package could cost as much as \$1.3 billion. And what does the candidate propose to do about high unemployment among steelworkers? He announced a plan to negotiate with foreign governments for a 30% reduction in the amount of low-cost steel exported to the U.S.

Such special-interest sops are just the kinds of Government interference in the free market that Ronald Reagan has spent his political career decrying—and condemns nowadays when they are advocated by Walter Mondale. Yet last week it

was the Republican President, not his Democratic opponent, who unveiled the relief programs for agriculture and steel.

Those election-season announcements showed the kind of political leverage that comes with incumbency. Mondale can only talk; the President can do. Indeed, Reagan exploits the political powers of the White House at least as well as any predecessor. He showed last week that it is more than a matter of handing out goodies to farmers and Big Steel. Whether in an Iowa field, on a street in Hammonton, N.J., or on the Waterbury, Conn., town green, he was highly visible but almost invulnerable. His handlers continue to limit his contact with insistent journalists and give him vague, breezy speeches to deliver to friendly crowds. His upbeat rhetoric in Waterbury was quintessential Reagan: "We say America should shoot for the stars, strive for the best and, like our Olympic athletes, go for it." The strategy seemed clear: keep people smiling, and avoid potentially unbecoming wrangling with Mondale on matters of substance.

Reagan disclaimed any political motivation for his farm package. "Now I know that none of you... are going to believe this," he told reporters. "It wasn't done with that in mind. It was done because there are people out there who need help." Reagan instructed the Farmers Home Administration, the federal lender for growers and ranchers who cannot get private credit, to permit many distressed farmers extra time to pay back their loans: debtors can arrange for as much as 25% (up to \$100,000) of outstanding principal and interest payments to be postponed for as long as five years, without penalty. Furthermore, the Government will guarantee local banks' outstanding loans to farmers if the bank will simply

## Debating the Debates

After five 90-min. sessions in Washington, aides to both Walter Mondale and Ronald Reagan shook hands last week. And with that gesture, their debate over the televised debates ended. The presidential candidates will meet in two Sunday-evening encounters. The first, which will deal with domestic issues, will take place on Oct. 7 in Louisville; the second, centering on foreign and defense policy, is scheduled for Oct. 21 in Kansas City. The vice-presidential candidates, George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro, will go head-to-head on Oct. 11 in Philadelphia.

The debates may be the Democrats' last best hope to gain substantial political ground. The power of the President's charm will be diminished, Democrats hope, when he speaks at length on matters of substance. Moreover, Mondale adherents dream of Reagan blundering during the debates, making some significant misstatement of fact. The White House preferred to hold no debates at all, but Reagan's political advisers feared that an outright refusal would make their man look evasive.

The Republicans, led by White House Chief of Staff James Baker, were most concerned about structure and tone; they wanted to avoid the kind of highly charged, confronta-

tional exchanges that Mondale had last spring with his Democratic rivals. Mondale Campaign Chairman James Johnson and his colleagues were insistent about timing: they wanted long debates late in the campaign. Each side got what it most wanted. Said a member of Reagan's team: "We gave up a little in terms of dates and stood our ground on the question of format." In the debates, four journalists will each ask two questions; the candidates, standing at a podium, will respond to the same eight questions. Reagan and Mondale will get three chances to address each topic, initially with a 2½-min. answer, then with a 1-min. follow-up and rebuttal. As Mondale wished, the second presidential debate is scheduled to come after the diversionary hubbub of the World Series, and the encounters will last 90 min. apiece. Each camp is gloating over a minor tactical triumph. The first debate will be on the same night as a nationwide Mondale fund-raising effort in more than 13,000 households; the second is scheduled to be televised opposite an N.F.L. game, which the Reaganites happily believe will draw millions of viewers away from the debate.

The staff discussions were peaceable. There was, however, one brief moment of high tension. In just, a White House adviser suggested that a secret Kremlin summit was in the works. Said he of a debate date: "Maybe we can do it on the day we get back from Moscow." After a bewildered second or two, the Democrats chuckled. Nervously.

## Nation

# Good News for Meese

*A report says the nominee for Attorney General broke no laws*

forgive 10% of the debt. Cost to the Treasury: at least \$1 billion.

Although Reagan's steel-import restriction plan does not involve direct Government expenditures, it will be costly: consumers will pay billions more for everything from automobiles to canned goods. Moreover, it may be a significant Administration nod toward protectionist trade policy (see **ECONOMY & BUSINESS**). Imported steel has now captured at least a quarter of the U.S. market. Steel companies and the United Steelworkers have lobbied for import restrictions.

The election-year largesse began to flow before Labor Day. In July Reagan came out in favor of an irreducible 3% cost of living adjustment in Social Security benefits. Without Reagan's initiative, the law would rule out an adjustment if inflation, now running at 3.5%, dipped below 3% for the year.

Throughout his term, Reagan has let plainly political considerations influence policy. He violated free-trade principles as early as 1981, when he negotiated auto import limits with the Japanese. He supports tuition tax credits for parents of private school students (estimated five-year cost: \$3 billion), an idea that appeals to Roman Catholic voters. Reagan came into office promising wholesale deregulation of business, yet his Administration has dawdled where the heavily regulated trucking industry is concerned. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the only major labor union to back Reagan, is strongly opposed to trucking deregulation.

The new aid to farmers is minor compared with the Reagan Administration's earlier generosity. Government commodity price-support payments totaled \$30.5 billion over the past two years, as much as during the previous nine years combined. The temporary payment-in-kind (PIK) deal, which doled out accumulated Government grain and commodity stocks to farmers who agreed to keep some of their fields fallow, cost \$9.7 billion in 1983. Last week the President recalled those and other Administration policies that helped farmers: lifting the embargo on grain exports to the Soviet Union, eliminating estate taxes for widowed spouses (important to land-rich farmers) and getting Japan to double its imports of American beef.

Reagan was back at the White House by nightfall Thursday. His campaign schedule is no grind. On the road only two or three days a week, he tries to avoid addressing complicated issues or difficult audiences. His strategists prefer a succession of snapshots: Reagan amid a lift-off of 5,000 balloons in Waterbury last week, Reagan surrounded by smiling workers during a planned visit to an Akron steel plant this week. The idea is simple: just keep the jaunty President walking on the sunny side of the street. —*By Kurt Andersen, Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Douglas Brew/Washington*

After Washington Attorney Jacob Stein took on the court-appointed task last April of investigating Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese's tangled personal finances, Democrats promptly asked him to assess Meese's fitness to serve as Attorney General. Meese's lawyers, on the other hand, urged Stein to declare that "the evidence does not substantiate the loose charges of moral turpitude against Mr. Meese." Stein refused to take either course. In a 385-page report, which was made public last week, Stein concluded

Thomas as an aide to his White House office after Thomas had offered Meese's wife an interest-free \$15,000 loan. The loan was later granted, but Meese failed to report it on his financial-disclosure statements. Stein concluded that Thomas got the job because of his longstanding personal and professional relationship with Meese, rather than as a result of any transaction. While "an inference of willful nondisclosure arguably could be drawn," Stein wrote, he could find no motive for Meese to conceal the loan and therefore



Meese claiming his "long ordeal" is over and his honesty confirmed

ed that he found no evidence that would support any criminal charges against the President's choice to become the nation's highest law-enforcement officer.

At a White House briefing, Meese happily embraced the Stein report. He said it confirmed that he and his wife "have never taken advantage of an official position to obtain private gain." His ordeal, Meese said, had taught him "the need for constant vigilance and sensitivity, not only to actual conduct but also to how conduct may be perceived." President Reagan said that if re-elected, he would resubmit the Meese nomination when the new Senate meets in January.

Stein, a prominent defense lawyer, had considered eleven allegations against Meese. Many of them involved his acceptance of personal financial favors from people who later acquired federal jobs. Repeatedly, Stein concluded that there was no evidence showing a direct connection between the generosity to Meese and the appointments. In most cases, those who acquired the Government posts, Stein noted, were supporters of the President who may have gained their positions without any help from Meese.

Meese clearly did select Edwin W.

he accepted Meese's claim that the omission was "inadvertent." Still, the report does show that Thomas told Stein that he had reminded Meese of the loan shortly before Meese filed his disclosure form.

Although Meese failed to make mortgage payments for 15 months on his California house and on a home he purchased in Virginia in 1981, Stein called the circumstances "not unusual for 'preferred' customers" of a bank. Four officers of the Great American Federal Savings Bank of San Diego, which made the loans, got federal jobs with Meese's help, Stein found, but might have done so without his aid.

The Stein report portrays Meese as a sloppy and disorganized administrator who suffers from a bad memory. It does not, however, deal with Meese's ethics, as TIME had earlier been led to believe it would, and so reported. The special prosecutor makes no comment on Meese's judgment in accepting interest-free loans or skipping mortgage payments and then helping some of his benefactors, even if needlessly, to get federal jobs. It will be up to the Senators to decide whether Meese, on balance, is fully qualified to run the Justice Department. —*By Ed Magnuson, Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington*



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## Nation



O'Neill: four clean shots at the bird



Baker: an accord with goodies for all

### Breaking the Defense Deadlock

*MX foes get four more chances to kill the bird*

The impasse over the defense budget had almost threatened to destroy the already shaky process through which Congress determines how federal funds will be spent. But after wrangling for months in the partisan atmosphere of an election year, leaders of the Republican Senate, the Democratic House and the Reagan Administration finally reached agreement last week on military spending. The compromise included goodies for all participants. But on the stickiest issue, the future of the MX missile, House Democrats came out a clear winner.

The accord reached by Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, House Speaker Tip O'Neill and White House aides does not kill the often wounded but seemingly indestructible intercontinental missile. Unless its critics are undermined by a Reagan re-election landslide, however, they will have at least four clean shots next year at grounding the MX for good. Predicted a confident O'Neill: "The MX will never be deployed." Warned a less certain Democratic colleague, Representative Les AuCoin of Oregon: "MX is in its coffin, but we still have to drive the silver stake through its heart."

In 1983, Congress narrowly approved \$2.1 billion to begin production and deployment of 21 of the controversial missiles. The Administration this year asked for money to add 40 more in 1985. The Senate balked, agreeing to fund only 21 additional missiles. Last May the House knocked that number down to 15. It also attached strings, insisting that no new money could be spent unless both houses gave a go-ahead next April.

That deadlock was broken last week in a two-part deal: first, it was agreed that \$1 billion more could be spent on deploy-

ment of the 21 missiles authorized last year and now under construction; second, the \$1.5 billion needed for the 15 missiles in 1985 would not be released until both the House and the Senate passed authorization and appropriations bills again before next year's Easter recess. All of which means that if the Administration loses any of those four votes on the MX, production of the missile would end with the group of 21 now under way.

Also in dispute was the level of defense spending for next year. Reagan had asked for \$313 billion, which would have been a 13% increase after inflation. The President had said, however, that he could accept \$299 billion, a 7.8% hike. The Senate Armed Services Committee, headed by Texas Republican John Tower, approved that sum. The House Armed Services Committee voted only \$292 billion. Under last week's compromise, the two chambers will authorize spending of \$297 billion, giving Tower a symbolic victory. But Congress will actually appropriate only \$292.9 billion.

The Administration emerged on top of another disputed defense issue. The House had voted to block Air Force plans to test developing antisatellite weapons against targets in space. The Senate had no objection to such tests. In the compromise, the Air Force will be permitted to make two Star Wars experiments next year. Said a House staff member: "We lost that one cold."

Both houses still must approve the entire compromise, but this seems likely before the scheduled adjournment on Oct. 5. Whether the decisions reached this year will prevail in 1985 may hinge on the November elections and the makeup of the new Congress in January. ■

### Faulty Hardware

*High bids and dud missiles*

The Army's Sergeant York anti-aircraft weapon, made to shoot down enemy helicopters, has proved a lemon. Known also as DIVAD (Division Air Defense), the system has two radar-guided guns attached to an M48A5 tank chassis. DIVAD has had trouble detecting decoys and hitting helicopters that do not have radar reflectors attached. Nonetheless, the Pentagon has invested \$1.5 billion in 276 DIVADs, and last week Richard DeLauer, Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, was preparing a report for Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on whether to buy 117 more. While DeLauer was at work, a study by the Defense Department's inspector general surfaced:



The Division Air Defense gun system

It revealed that the Pentagon had paid \$84 million more than necessary for the expensive and useless weapon. The study was released by Oregon's Republican Congressman Denny Smith, a fierce opponent of DIVAD. According to the report, the Pentagon was too concerned with producing the weapon swiftly to bargain carefully with the manufacturer, the Ford Aerospace and Communications Corp. of Newport Beach, Calif., a division of Ford Motor Co. Said Smith: "Not only are we buying a DIVAD that doesn't work, the taxpayers are being ripped off by excessive charges." ■ ■ ■

Sidewinders and Sparrows are the bread and butter of America's air-to-air fighting capability: the \$59,000 Sidewinder missile can zoom toward targets within an eleven-mile range at twice the speed of sound; the \$169,000 Sparrow missile is able to hit a target 31 miles away. But according to Frank Conahan, an investigator for Congress's General Accounting Office, one-quarter of the Navy's and Air Force's Sidewinders and one-third of their Sparrows are "unserviceable." Conahan's congressional testimony last week was just another in this year's endless stream of reports on military unreadiness. In a rebuttal, Assistant Secretary of Defense Lawrence Korb later testified that defects crippled only about 21% of the Navy's missiles. Korb's estimate for useless Air Force missiles was 15%. ■

## The Senate: Hugging Reagan's Coattails

### CAMPAIGN

# 84

Both Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale have said that this election offers voters one of the clearest choices in U.S. history. In two key states, Massachusetts and Texas, ideology is also a major factor in contests for the Senate. In the House, races more often turn on personalities, as evidenced by campaigns in Delaware and Arkansas.

### Bay State Upset

Massachusetts has such a reputation for liberal politics that White House Chief of Staff James Baker once jokingly referred to it as a Communist country. But as both parties held primaries last week to nominate candidates for the Senate seat vacated by ailing Democrat Paul Tsongas, there were signs that the political winds were shifting. In a stunning upset, Political Neophyte Raymond Shemie, a conservative Republican businessman and unabashed Reagan booster, trounced former Attorney General Elliot Richardson, a progressive with a mile-long résumé of public service, by an astounding 24 points (62% to 38%). Said Boston Political Consultant Michael Goldman: "It is the end of an era."

As recently as last July, polls gave

Richardson, 64, a veteran of four Cabinet posts, a seemingly unbeatable lead of nearly 30 points. But his 15-year stint in Washington left him out of touch with the changing Bay State electorate, and his lusterless campaign failed to catch fire. White Richardson stressed his gold-plated qualifications. Shemie, 63, a self-made millionaire, echoed Reagan's homely themes of patriotism and family values. In August, Richardson made a fatal mistake: he refused to endorse the conservative G.O.P. national platform.

In November, Shemie will face Lieutenant Governor John Kerry, 40, a liberal who wrested the Democratic nomination from his ideological clone, three-term Congressman James Shannon. Kerry, a handsome and highly decorated Navy lieutenant, benefited from broad, state-wide visibility and a reputation as an eloquent spokesman for Viet Nam veterans in the early '70s.

The G.O.P. sees Tsongas' seat as winnable: two days after the primary, Vice President George Bush swung through Massachusetts to demonstrate White House support. But Bay State Democrats still outnumber Republicans 4 to 1, making Kerry the odds-on favorite.

In the Tenth District of Massachusetts, liberal Democratic Congressman Gerry Studs, 47, an avowed homosexual who was censured last year for his 1973 affair with a male Capitol Hill page, drubbed Plymouth County Sheriff Peter Flynn. In the Seventh District, four-term Democratic Congressman Edward Markey, 38, a leading nuclear-freeze advocate, bested former State Senator Sam Rotondi, a conservative, with 57% of the vote. ■

### Wild West Shootout

With its shifting mix of Hispanics, oil entrepreneurs and Yankee yuppie transplants, Texas has as many constituencies as it has recipes for five-alarm chili. Republican Phil Gramm and Democrat Lloyd Doggett have been trying to cope with this volatile hodgepodge as they crisscross the state in their quest to win the Senate seat held by retiring Republican John Tower. The Lone Star candidates are as sharply dissimilar as the voters they are courting. Comments San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, a Doggett supporter: "No one can say it's hard to tell the candidates apart."

Gramm, 42, a three-term Congressman from the largely rural Sixth District, was rated last spring as the most conservative member of Congress by the nonpartisan *National Journal*. A former economics professor at Texas A & M University, he was one of the Democratic "boll weevils" who supported President Reagan's 1981 budget cuts. In 1983, Gramm changed parties and easily won re-election; last May he



Gramm: a bipartisan array of backers

captured the G.O.P. Senate nomination with 73% of the vote. Gramm's opponent, State Senator Doggett, 37, is a pro-consumer liberal from Austin with more than a decade of experience in the legislature. In a bitter runoff for the Democratic nomination last June, Doggett squeaked in by a scant 1,345 votes.

Gramm has lined up an impressive array of backers from both parties, including 150 campaign aides who worked for Doggett's two primary opponents. Gramm's right-of-center stands on defense and social issues like abortion go down well with a broad cross section of Texas voters. But it is his hard-shell economic views that may lure wavering Democrats and independents in November. Says Bill Dauley, a member of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association: "No one in Congress has fought harder to cut taxes and spending than Phil Gramm."

Doggett peppers away at Gramm for his turncoat switch to the G.O.P. and his pledge to cut Social Security. Gramm has countered by spending \$100,000 in denunciatory radio commercials. In August, he embarrassed Doggett by revealing that \$354 of the Democrat's campaign funds had been raised by a homosexual-rights group at an all-male strip show.

Two out of three Texans call themselves Democrats, but the state went overwhelmingly for Reagan in 1980 and promises to do so again this year. Presidential popularity, however, may not automatically translate into votes for Gramm. "I'm clearly the underdog," admits Doggett. "No one has mistaken me for Goliath. But no one has any doubt about how the biblical battle turned out." ■



Kerry: a square-off between left and right

## The House: Women at Work

### Chemistry of a Name

Her opponent campaigns aggressively in bowling alleys and at factory gates. She prefers cozy chats in private homes, where 30 or so guests can listen to her speech while munching on tuna sandwiches and fruitcake. Republican Elise du Pont, 48, wife of retiring Governor Pierre S. du Pont IV, is seeking her first elected office by running for Delaware's sole House seat against the Democratic incumbent Tom Carper. Most observers think that the former housewife's fortune and famed last name give her a strong chance of winning. She insists rather plaintively that this view works against her.

The Du Pont wealth stems from the chemical company that is the state's largest employer. Initially, Elise du Pont was so eager to dispel the notion that she was riding on her husband's coattails and checkbook that her campaign billboards advertised her only as "Elise." When voters failed to respond, campaign strategists added her surname. Even though her husband has studiously stayed away from the campaign, her popularity is inexorably linked to his. Pierre du Pont, completing his second term, has an approval rating of some 90%. "Pete du Pont has turned the state around," says Rotarian John Newcomer. "And that has to rub off on her."

Elise du Pont, educated at Miss Porter's School and Bryn Mawr, entered politics late in life, having raised four children before she started law school in Philadelphia at age 40. Her volunteer effort for the Reagan-Bush 1980 campaign won her a

high-level appointment to the Agency for International Development in Washington in 1981. Rich, well bred and painstakingly polite, Du Pont hopes to coast in on the President's popularity in the conservative state. She has been coached on tax cuts and the balanced-budget amendment by G.O.P. Supply-Siders Jack Kemp and Newt Gingrich.

In contrast, Carper relishes his non-U public-school background. A Viet Nam veteran, he served three terms as state treasurer before unseating Republican Congressman Tom Evans in 1982. He tools across the state in his beat-up Plymouth Horizon, listening to classical music, and boasts that he has now shaken every hand in Delaware. Carper professes not to mind that Du Pont plans to spend \$300,000 more than he, insisting, "I'm used to being outspent. I overcome it by an intense, person-to-person grass-roots campaign." Carper, who supported Goldwater in 1964, is a fiscal conservative who is bullish on defense. On most issues, the two candidates appear to agree. Carper is gambling that his experience and folksy manner will play well against Du Pont's gilded edges. ■

### Sheriff vs. Schoolmarm

They are such improbable rivals that even a TV sitcom writer might be embarrassed to cast them. A prim, perky Republican, Judy Petty, 41, teaches Sunday school and on occasion has lectured schoolgirls on etiquette. Her Democratic opponent in the close race for Arkansas' Second Congressional District is Tommy Robinson, 42, a rough-hewn, tough-talking sheriff who once suggested that a bounty hunter be sent to the Soviet Union to bring back the man who last year shot down the KAL airliner.

Petty worked her way up from the party ranks before making her debut as a candidate ten years ago. Given little chance of winning, she challenged the formidable chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Democrat Wilbur Mills. His reputation was tainted during the campaign by his escapades with Washington Striptease Artist Fanne Foxe. In normally Democratic Arkansas, Petty lost, but won a respectable 41% of the vote. A divorcee with one daughter, Petty launched a public relations firm in her Little Rock home before winning a seat in the state legislature in 1980. After two terms, she again set her sights on Capitol Hill.

A cheery, 18-hour-a-day campaigner, Petty often works parades, tirelessly darting between marching bands to grab spectators' hands on either side. The conservative Petty draws heavily on Reagan's popularity in the state, merrily proclaiming, "I'm a supply-sider." She radiates the President's brand of apple-pie patriotism



Du Pont: well bred and painstakingly polite

and insists, "I won't make a left turn when I cross the Potomac."

Robinson is prickly and proud of it: his record testifies to his suspicion of any authority but his own. He twice left chained prisoners outside a state penitentiary after officials refused to accept inmates from his overcrowded Pulaski County jail. When a black federal judge dispatched an official to oversee Robinson's facilities, the sheriff ousted the appointee and called the judge a "token." Held in contempt of court, Robinson was arrested, then released and given a hero's welcome at his office. The sheriff trades heavily on his good ole boy charm, stumping hard in rural areas and bellowing, "The Republicans can call me a cowboy, or they can call me Sue, but they are fixin' to get a tiger in their tails like they've never had before!"

Amid all the clamor, independent Challenger James Taylor's painfully earnest pleas for nuclear "sanity" are muffled. Taylor, 34, a former newspaper reporter who refuses all PAC campaign contributions, is so strapped for cash that his first campaign signs were hand-lettered. Though he may get some votes from Democrats repelled by Robinson's rowdiness, the race remains either Petty's or Robinson's to win. Impartial observers cautiously favor the sheriff, but Petty says bravely, "I'm running as if it were neck and neck." ■



Petty: a perky Sunday-school teacher



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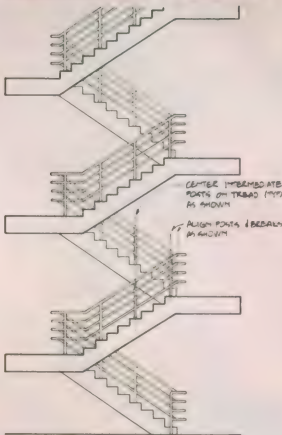
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## American Notes

ETHICS

### An Inquiry Clears Hatfield



Vindicated Senator

Senator Mark Hatfield had two assets working for him as he faced a preliminary inquiry of the Senate Ethics Committee into his wife's financial dealings with a Greek businessman. One was the Oregon Republican's long reputation for integrity. The other was Hatfield's admission that he had made a serious error of judgment in helping to promote Entrepreneur Basil Tsakos' planned \$6 billion oil pipeline in Central Africa.

Tsakos had paid Hatfield's wife Antoinette \$55,000 for helping him find and decorate an apartment in Washington.

Two disgruntled former employees of Tsakos testified that Mrs. Hatfield had performed no broker or decorating services for the financier. But last week the Ethics Committee staff concluded that there was insufficient evidence to determine that the fee paid Mrs. Hatfield, a real estate broker, was meant as a bribe to her husband and urged the Senate committee to drop the matter. The Ethics Committee is expected to agree this week. The Justice Department also seems likely to come to a similar conclusion after a preliminary FBI investigation of Hatfield's activities.

SAN DIEGO

### Indicting a Mayor

Early this year, it seemed that Roger Hedgecock, 38, San Diego's dashing, telegenic liberal Republican mayor, was leading a charmed political life. A former environmental lawyer and avid surfer, Hedgecock was elected in May 1983 to complete the term of Republican Pete Wilson, who had left for the U.S. Senate. In 16 months Hedgecock formed a broad-based political coalition in a traditionally conservative city, and was considered a shoo-in for election to a full four-year term this November. But last week a county grand jury returned a 15-count felony indictment against the mayor and three of his closest political backers.

Hedgecock, the indictment charged, illegally received \$357,150 for his 1983 campaign from Currency Trader J. David Dominelli and his business partner-girlfriend, Nancy Hoover. The money was allegedly funneled into the campaign through a political consulting firm set up by Hedgecock's friend Tom Shepard. The four defendants face prison terms of up to eight years and \$5,000 fines if they are convicted. With the election only five weeks away, a steadfast Hedgecock said to a crowd of voters, "I'm on the job every day, seeking the best for my city. And I'm going to keep doing that just as long as you let me."

UNITED NATIONS

### More UNESCO trouble

In the ongoing battle between the U.S. and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the U.S. employed a tactic last week that one UNESCO official called "psychological warfare." A confidential study by the Congress's General Accounting Office that harshly criticizes UNESCO was leaked to the press. The report charges the agency's Senegalese director, General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, with large-scale inefficiency and mismanagement. Said M'Bow: "I was elected by all the 161 member states to head the organization... and not one of them can force me to hand in my resignation."

The 157-page study, which took six months to prepare, surfaced just one week before UNESCO's executive board was sched-

uled to discuss the proposals of its Western members for improving the organization. The U.S. has announced it will pull out of the agency at the end of 1984 unless UNESCO changes its ways. The U.S. says UNESCO has a pro-Third World, anti-Western bias. A withdrawal by the U.S., which contributes roughly one-fourth of UNESCO's budget, could lead to financial collapse for the agency.

NEW ORLEANS

### Foul Times for a Fair

"Let the good times roll!" exulted Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards when he opened the World's Fair in New Orleans last May. Alas, the 1984 Louisiana World Exposition has seen nothing but hard times. The fair has been losing \$1 million a week; average daily attendance has been 40,000, a sorry response to the spring predictions of 70,000. And last week the fair defaulted on a \$40 million bank loan by failing to make its \$450,000 monthly interest payment. The festival on the levee has no chance of breaking even, but New Orleans has agreed to postpone collecting city taxes from the exposition to enable the fair to limp to its scheduled closing date, Nov. 11, instead of folding early.

Why did the World's Fair fail so abysmally? Some blame a poor marketing strategy, others the \$15 admission price. It may also be that the attraction of the onetime, small-scale exposition is over, outmoded by well-promoted, futuristic extravaganzas like Walt Disney's Epcot Center in central Florida. Or, as some soured Louisianians observed, it could be that the Knoxville World's Fair of two years ago, though financially successful, was so boring it discouraged people from going to New Orleans.



Belaguered exposition

VIET NAM

### Suicide of a Veteran

Jeffrey Charles Davis, 36, seemed inexorably drawn to the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial in Washington. A D.C. police officer for more than 15 years, Davis is said to have once called the memorial "the ugliest thing I ever saw." Yet he would often visit it after finishing his duty, to stare at the 148 black granite slabs inscribed with the names of the 57,939 Americans killed or missing in the Viet Nam War. A decorated veteran, Davis had served in Viet Nam with the 101st Airborne Division when he was only 17 years old. On a bright cool morning last week, Davis, a husband and father of two small children, was found sitting in civilian clothes under a tree just a few hundred feet from the memorial. He had shot himself in the head.

It was the first suicide anyone could recall at the monument. To most of his friends, Davis had not seemed traumatized by Viet Nam, but some said he had returned cynical and bitter. "Who knows what he was thinking about?" said former Marine Mike



Viet Nam Veterans Memorial

Conner, one of the veterans who help stand a 24-hour volunteer watch at the memorial. "Maybe the survivor guilt got to him." For many who knew him, Davis' death brought back the anguish of Viet Nam. Said the Rev. Walter Childress in his eulogy: "The human frailties and vulnerabilities of that war will be with us as long as they live—those who fought there."



Moments after the explosion, rescue workers, American officials and Lebanese employees of the U.S. embassy cluster around the heavily damaged

## World

LEBANON

# Again, the Nightmare

*For the third time in 17 months, a major U.S. target in Beirut is bombed*

**I**t was an act of terrorism that U.S. diplomats had discussed, dreaded and planned against for nearly a year and a half. Yet when it occurred, all the worry, the precautions and the special security devices proved to be almost futile against the fanatical determination of one man to reach his target. "At first I thought it was a supersonic boom," said a Lebanese civilian moments after the explosion. "Then I knew it was the American embassy."

At 11:45 a.m. last Thursday, a van with diplomatic license plates pulled up at a checkpoint outside the embassy annex, a building in East Beirut that in the past

few months had become the headquarters of Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew and his staff. The car was ordered to halt by the Lebanese security guards on duty at the checkpoint. Suddenly the driver pulled a gun and shot at one of the guards. Then, as another guard shouted and ran after the van, the driver raced his engine, zigzagged through the "dragon's teeth," a staggered row of concrete blocks designed to reduce the speed of approaching cars, and headed for the embassy building.

One of the bodyguards accompanying British Ambassador David Miers, who happened to be visiting his U.S. counterpart, opened fire on the approaching van.

Said the British security man later: "I fired about five rounds through the door of the vehicle. I saw the driver fall over. As he fell, he pulled on the wheel and the car swung to the right, hitting a parked vehicle." The van was still 30 ft. from the embassy when it exploded, producing a flash and a deafening roar. The facade of the building collapsed, raining masonry and broken glass over a wide area in the residential district.

The shots fired at the van apparently prevented the driver from reaching his presumed destination, the parking garage underneath the embassy. If the car and its 350 lbs. of explosives had blown up there,



embassy annex in search of survivors and clues



A wounded U.S. Marine, Corporal Larry Gill, is placed on a stretcher

the entire building might have collapsed, with terrible consequences. As it was, at least twelve people were killed and 35 wounded, although the casualty figures may turn out to be higher. Among the dead were two Americans attached to the embassy's military liaison office: Army Chief Warrant Officer Kenneth V. Welch of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Navy Petty Officer First Class Michael Ray Wagner of Zebulon, N.C. The other fatalities were Lebanese civilians working at the embassy or seeking visas to the U.S.

By the ugly standards of Lebanon's recent history, the toll was not all that high. Just 17 months earlier, 63 people had been killed in the car bombing of the old U.S. embassy in West Beirut. Six months later, similar suicide bombings within moments of each other took the lives of 241 U.S. servicemen and 58 French paratroopers. Sixty-one others died two weeks after that when a bomb devastated an Israeli military headquarters in the southern port city of Tyre. In the meantime, of course, untold hundreds have died in the continuing chaos throughout Lebanon.

The latest atrocity was deeply troubling to U.S. officials. It demonstrated

that despite an array of new security precautions instituted during the past year, embassies and other facilities are still vulnerable to attack by terrorists willing to sacrifice their lives. The bombing showed that Christian East Beirut, which has until now been far less volatile than Muslim West Beirut, is nowhere near as secure as had been believed. It also indicated that despite a sharp decline in the American military and diplomatic presence in Lebanon over the past seven months, the U.S. remains a favorite target of fanatical Muslim terrorism.

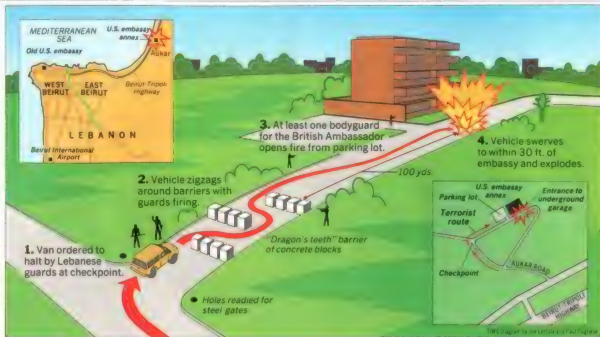
Ninety minutes after the blast, an anonymous caller, speaking in Arabic, telephoned the Beirut office of Agence France-Presse, the French news agency, and claimed responsibility in the name of Islamic jihad (holy war). This shadowy organization, whose leaders are unknown and whose membership is uncertain, has been associated with the previous car bombings in Beirut. The caller declared, "In the name of God the Almighty, Islamic jihad announces that it is responsible for blowing up a car rigged with explosives, which was driven by one of our suicide commandos. The operation

proves that we will carry out our previous promise not to allow a single American to remain on Lebanese soil."

Meanwhile, rescue workers were sifting through the embassy wreckage. The blast had left a crater 26 ft. in diameter and 8 ft. deep. Beside it lay the remains of the lethal van, in a burned and twisted heap. Ambulances wailed as armed guards lowered their weapons menacingly to keep curiosity seekers away. Bodies were scattered amid the rubble, some without limbs; screams and groans could be heard everywhere. Among the wounded was Fawzi Yazeji, a Lebanese guard, who was taken to the nearby Abu Jawdeh hospital for treatment. Said he: "Thank God this didn't happen two hours earlier, when the embassy was packed with hundreds of people waiting for visas."

When the bomb went off, Bartholomew was in his fifth-floor office talking with British Ambassador Miers. Elsewhere on the same floor, U.S. Political Officer David Winn was conferring with a Dutch diplomat. Said Winn later: "We heard a burst of automatic fire, and we both looked at each other, and then it blew." He and others rushed to the Ambassador's office, where they found Miers

## World



shaken but not seriously hurt. The British envoy asked them to help him dig out Bartholomew, who was so covered with rubble that he was not even visible. Like Miers, Bartholomew was not badly injured. The two diplomats briefly surveyed the devastation below and were then taken to the hospital.

Later that morning, Bartholomew spoke by telephone with Ronald Reagan. The President had been awakened by his National Security Adviser, Robert McFarlane, and told of the bombing. At 8:30 a.m., McFarlane and Secretary of State George Shultz briefed Reagan at the White House. By then Shultz had asked Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Richard Murphy to proceed to Beirut to lead an investigation of the bombing.

After the briefing, Reagan decided to go ahead with a scheduled campaign trip to Iowa, on the grounds that he could easily keep in touch with the situation in Beirut. Throughout the day, he spoke of the bombing as "a cowardly terrorist act" and described it as "another painful reminder of the persistent threat of terrorism in the world." When asked whether he was satisfied with the security at the Beirut embassy, the President replied, "As much as I know about it, yes. I think if someone is determined to do what they did, it's pretty difficult to prevent it."

While that thesis will be much debated, it is true that most U.S. embassies in the Middle East are more secure than they were a year ago. Shultz, who is said to be obsessed with the problem, declared last week, "This attack once again reminds us of the importance of the efforts we are taking to combat terrorism."

Said State Department Spokesman John Hughes: "You have to remember that an embassy has to be open to the public, a window of the U.S. open to the world." When reminded that there had been an anonymous telephone threat in Beirut earlier this month of a forthcoming attack against "one of the vital American installations in the Middle East," Hughes replied, "Threats against our installations are sadly all too frequent."

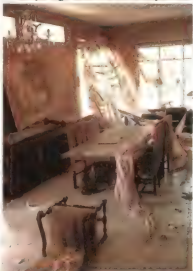
The problem has been particularly acute in Lebanon. After last year's bombing of the embassy in West Beirut, U.S. diplomats began working out of the British embassy. But in late July they moved their offices to the new "annex" in East Beirut, partly because much of the government of President Amin Gemayel was

located in that half of the city, but mainly because East Beirut was considered safer than West Beirut. The annex building was thought to be especially secure because it was located in Aukar, a suburb on the outskirts of the city. The move coincided with the departure from Lebanon of 80 U.S. Marines, after which Christian Lebanese guards trained by U.S. military advisers took over the job of protecting the embassy's exterior. The Administration was clearly relieved to get those 80 Marines out of Lebanon and was convinced that the Lebanese could handle the job.

At the time of last week's bombing, however, the building was still under construction and some of the planned security measures had not been completed. According to reports from Washington, the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency recently concluded that security at embassy installations in the East Beirut area was inadequate and that the buildings were vulnerable to terrorist attack. A separate report by the General Accounting Office, the investigative and auditing arm of Congress, faulted the State Department for the way it had managed its "security-enhancement program" for embassies in the region. Late last week Senator Charles Percy of Illinois, the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, ordered an investigation into whether "all necessary precautions" had been taken to prevent such an act of terrorism.

When the bomb went off in East Beirut, workmen were preparing to install a steel gate near the dragon's teeth that would strengthen security by giving guards a little more time in which to deal with a possible emergency. The white-

Masonry and glass litter the embassy interior



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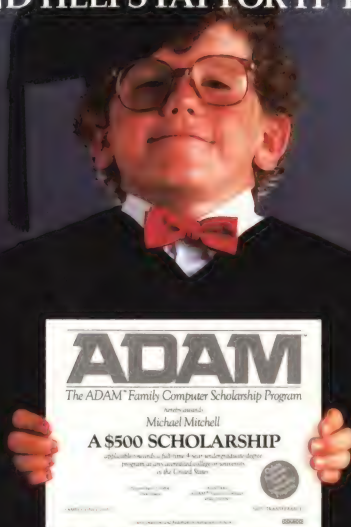
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The rescue operation continues amid the rubble near the embassy



Lebanese workers carry a casualty to a waiting ambulance

painted gate was still lying on the sidewalk, waiting to be put into place, and the cement in which the gateposts were set was still wet. In the aftermath of the tragedy, a Lebanese guard said that he thought the dragon's teeth had been placed too far apart to force traffic to a crawl. Countering such criticism, Bartholomew's predecessor as Ambassador to Lebanon, Robert Dillon, pointed out that the security measures in effect last week had at least prevented the embassy car from reaching the embassy building.

Apart from security concerns, the latest bombing raised the question of possible U.S. retaliation. Asked about the matter, President Reagan said flatly, "I can't discuss that." The main problem is that the culprits are not easy to identify, let alone punish. Most experts believe the name Islamic Jihad is a sort of catchword used by several fanatical Shi'ite Muslim groups inspired by Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and affiliated with Iranian Revolutionary Guards based in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. The terrorists seem to be linked to the ruling Shi'ite hierarchy in Iran or to a segment of it. Because the groups operate out of an area that is controlled by Syria, it has been assumed that Damascus was encouraging their terrorist activities, but this is probably no longer true.

Ever since the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines and other contingents of the Multi-National Force last winter, Syria has been the dominant power in Lebanon and has been trying to bring an end to that country's factional fighting. In the past six months there have been several clashes between the Iranian guards and Syrian troops in the Bekaa Valley. In the latest fight, in early September, Syria brought in tanks and forced the guards to return to their camps outside the ancient city of Baalbek. That clash was promptly followed by a surprise visit to Syria by Iranian President Seyed Ali Khamene'i, who reportedly met with the guards in the Bekaa Valley and ordered them to toe the Syrian line.

Nonetheless, the troublemaking has continued. Even Libyan and Soviet diplo-

mats have on occasion been harassed by fundamentalist groups, and a number of Western officials and journalists have been kidnaped. (Late last week, Reuters Correspondent Jonathan Wright was released unharmed by unidentified gunmen after being held for 23 days.) All these terrorist incidents, coming at a time when Syria was trying to bring some kind of order to Lebanon, have embarrassed the Damascus government of President Hafez Assad. Worse, they bring with them

the possibility of U.S. retaliation. The Syrians thus have reason to be annoyed with their onetime surrogates but obviously have not managed to check the terrorist activities.

The Prime Minister of Lebanon, Rashid Karami, denounced the embassy bombing as "inexcusable and intolerable," adding, "We congratulate the survivors, and implore God's mercy for the victims." Otherwise, the reaction in the Arab world was somewhat muted, perhaps because many Arab moderates, including the Lebanese, were angry over the U.S. veto in early September of a United Nations Security Council resolution calling for improved living conditions in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon. Indeed, many Middle East experts speculated that the latest bombing was intended as retaliation for the veto.

Others traced the continuing series of terrorist acts to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. Said a British government official: "Until there is a just Palestinian settlement that assures Israel's steepest and security and grants self-determination to the Palestinians, there will be no ending to the sort of violence we have seen this week." Some Middle East experts, including William Quandt of the Brookings Institution, advocate closer U.S. ties with Syria as a possible way of reducing the risks of such terrorism. Quandt argues that neither Syria nor any of the other main powers in the area benefit from these acts, and therefore he cautions against any retaliatory strike that is not aimed precisely at the culprits. "If you have good intelligence, there's a strong case for taking action," he contends. "But if you're that good, you probably knew about the plot beforehand and could have prevented it."

If nothing else, the U.S. learned last week that its troubles in Lebanon did not end with the withdrawal of the Marine peace-keeping force last winter. Says former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia Robert Neumann: "The area is not heating up again. It never cooled down." As for the latest bombing, Neumann predicts grimly: "Fasten your seat belts. There will be more."

—By William E. Smith,  
Reported by John Borreil/Beirut and Barrett Seaman/Washington

## A Time of Terror

The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the ensuing 19-month presence of U.S. and West European peace-keeping forces touched off a wave of bombings, assassinations and other bloody gestures of protest against the foreign visitors. Among the entries in that chronology of terror:

**April 18, 1983:** The U.S. embassy in West Beirut is devastated by a car bomb; 63 people killed, including 17 Americans.

**Oct. 23, 1983:** U.S. Marine headquarters near Beirut International Airport and a French military barracks are attacked almost simultaneously by suicide truck bombers; 241 U.S. servicemen and 58 French paratroopers killed.

**Nov. 4, 1983:** Israeli military headquarters in Tyre is destroyed by a car bomb; 29 Israelis and 32 Arab detainees killed.

**Dec. 12, 1983:** The U.S. and French embassies and four other facilities in Kuwait are bombed; six killed. Shi'ite terrorists possibly linked to those in Lebanon are blamed.

**Jan. 1, 1984:** The French Cultural Center in the Lebanese port city of Tripoli is destroyed by a bomb.

**Jan. 18, 1984:** The president of the American University of Beirut, Malcolm Kerr, 52, is assassinated outside his office.

## World



The long, grim line: travelers headed for southern Lebanon wait at the Batir checkpoint

### Where Roots of Violence Grow

*In the Israeli-occupied south, Shi'ite resentment runs deep*

**O**n the same morning that an explosion shattered the U.S. embassy annex on the outskirts of East Beirut, another act of terror was being carried out 29 miles away in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon. In the small Shi'ite Muslim village of Suhmur, 13 people were murdered by militia-men of the Christian-dominated Army of Southern Lebanon, apparently in retaliation for the earlier killing of four of its soldiers.

The slayings were just another episode in what has become almost routine violence in the southern third of Lebanon, where the largely Shi'ite Muslim population's resentment of both the Israelis and the Christian militia grows by the day. It is an area that has bred small cells of violent fanatics, including, Israeli officials say, adherents of the Islamic Jihad, or Islamic Holy War, who claimed responsibility for the embassy bombing. The mounting tension between the occupying Israelis and the Shi'ite population was emphasized by Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin last week when he said, "Any permanent Israel Defense Forces presence in southern Lebanon constitutes a time bomb."

More than two years after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, some 22,000 Israeli troops remain in southern Lebanon. Their purpose: to keep Palestine Liberation Organization fighters from filtering back and posing a fresh threat to Israel's northern border towns and settlements. But since the Israeli army in Lebanon withdrew from the Beirut area south to the Awali River a year ago, 60 soldiers have been killed and 469 wounded in Lebanese attacks. Ev-

ery month brings about 70 to 80 new assaults. "We are on a spiral to nowhere," says a prominent Sidon citizen. "The more the Israelis are attacked, the more repressive they become, and that only leads to more desperation and attacks."

As a result, southern Lebanon is growing increasingly isolated from the rest of the country, a fact that is starkly obvious at the main Israeli checkpoint, near the Lebanese village of Batir al Chouf. Every day the roadway teems with hundreds seeking passage between southern Lebanon and the north. Israeli sentries separate the men from the women, then methodically inspect baggage and examine papers.

In an effort to clamp down on arms smuggling, the Israeli army has further restricted access to and from the south. Travelers heading in either direction must first obtain permits from an Israeli office in the south. Beirutis wishing to visit the occupied area must ask relatives or friends living in the south to obtain the



Israeli soldier searches bags of Lebanese woman at Batir  
*A spiral of violence that traps occupier and occupied alike.*

documents for them. The rules sometimes discriminate: Muslims are forced to travel through the mobbed Batir checkpoint, whereas Christians can take a ferry from Jiyah, north of Sidon, to East Beirut. What used to be a 40-minute taxi ride between Beirut and Sidon is now a journey that takes hours, even days.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres would like to pull his troops out of Lebanon. Apart from the mounting casualties, the occupation costs financially strapped Israel \$1.2 million a day. What prevents the Israelis from leaving is what plagues Lebanon itself: the lack of a strong central government in Beirut that could bring order to the country. Though Peres admitted last week that withdrawal remains "several months" away, other officials estimate that the pullback will not take place before next summer.

The ambushes and bombings against the Israeli army are the work of only a few hundred Shi'ites. But they enjoy the passive support of much of the population, especially in the impoverished farming villages. In southern Lebanese villages like Marakah, for example, a call to arms is frequently broadcast from mosques. "Kill the Israelis! Death to the invaders!" loudspeakers intone. Israeli troops dare to enter some villages only in force, and their armored cars and Jeeps bristling with machine guns are inevitably greeted by jeers from women and children.

**T**he Israeli army responds by lowering its profile in trouble spots and literally digging in deeper behind fortified embankments. The army relies increasingly on Shin Bet, the Israeli security service, to do plainclothes surveillance and cultivate informers.

Ultimately, the Israelis hope to turn over the region to the Army of Southern Lebanon, the militia founded by Major Saad Haddad. After Haddad died of cancer last January, the command was taken over by General Antoine Lahd, 55, a Maronite Christian who has served for years in the regular Lebanese Army. Lahd oversees a 2,100-strong force, trained and supplied by the Israelis, but he admitted to TIME that he would probably need at least 5,000 men to police southern Lebanon effectively. Recruitment is slow: only 128 Lebanese signed up for the latest five-week training course.

Peres may eventually have little choice but to accept the advice once bandied about Washington during the mire of Viet Nam, namely to declare victory and withdraw. When that happens, the Israelis are likely to leave behind an unfortunate legacy of their occupation of southern Lebanon: a population more alienated than ever before from its neighbor to the south.

—By James Kelly,  
Reported by John Borrell/Sidon and  
Harry Kelly/Batir

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## World

ISRAEL

### Tighter Belts

*Peres starts with austerity*

Perhaps it was the honeymoon atmosphere, or perhaps, as one senior Israeli official said, it was simply "enlightened self-interest." Whatever the reason, Israel's freshly installed unity government got down to business quickly. At its first Cabinet meeting last week, the coalition of Labor and Likud, the country's two major political groups, decided to cut this year's \$23 billion budget by \$1 billion and devalue the shekel by 9%. That latter move, which dropped the currency's value from 354 shekels to the U.S. dollar to 397, was meant to stop a run against the currency that was dangerously draining the country's foreign reserves.

In an economy suffering from 400% annual inflation, the bold austerity measures were likely to be only the first of many. Nonetheless, the moves marked an auspicious start for a government that took two months to form. Said Prime Minister Shimon Peres, the Labor Party leader: "We have to turn first of all to ourselves, control our standard of living, reduce our expenses, and make Israel self-reliant from an economic point of view."

Peres was speaking to the Reagan Administration as much as to the Israeli citizen. The Prime Minister—accompanied by Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the Likud leader who under the terms of the coalition agreement will swap jobs with Peres after 25 months—is scheduled to meet with Reagan in Washington on Oct. 9. Anticipating that the election-year U.S. Congress will approve a record \$2.6 billion in economic and military aid to Israel for fiscal 1985, which starts Oct. 1, Israeli officials will ask that Washington give them \$1.2 billion of that amount immediately to meet interest payments on the national debt. In addition, the Reagan Administration expects Peres to seek up

to \$1 billion in new aid by drawing up a slimmed-down budget, deficit and all, and then asking Washington to help the Israelis make ends meet.

State Department officials have insisted, however, that the Israelis must first tighten the country's belt several notches. In a 90-min. session with Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i last week, U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel Lewis abandoned his mild-mannered style to deliver a stern lecture on frugality. "You are going to have to drop your standard of living and live within your means," he said. Moda'i seemed to take the injunction to heart when he described the Lewis get-together later to a group of Israeli manufacturers. "This was almost the motto of the meeting: 'Only you can help yourselves,'" Moda'i said. "You know what? I agree."

Mottoes aside, the Israelis still have far to go. In spite of the vote to cut the budget, Cabinet officials must determine where the \$1 billion in savings will come from. Although each minister is expected to recommend trims in his own department, some officials contend that fiscal realities leave them little flexibility. Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, for example, faces a 12½% budget cut and may have to scrap benefits like free high school education.

The key to economic asceticism rests with Histadrut, the 1.5 million-member labor federation that represents 90% of Israel's entire work force. Peres would like the union to accept a wage-price freeze as well as a 10% rollback in the annual cost of living allowances paid automatically to Israeli workers. Though Histadrut leaders remain lukewarm about both proposals, they were noticeably impressed when Peres took part in negotiations with the labor group last week. It was one more indication that the coalition government, despite its contentious origins, might just have enough gumption to tackle the country's problems after all. ■



Smoke pours from the stricken Soviet vessel

HIGH SEAS

### Sub Flub

*Nuclear mystery near Japan*

For days a Soviet *Golf II*-class submarine zigzagged erratically across the strategic Sea of Japan. Occasionally the vessel would dive, resurface and send off clouds of heavy smoke, while support ships waited near by. Finally an ocean-going Soviet tug took the obviously stricken sub in hand and began towing it at a snail's pace in the general direction of Vladivostok, headquarters of the Soviet Pacific Fleet. As the Japanese press closely followed the drama, defense officials in Tokyo quietly pondered a couple of minor mysteries: What was the warship, of a type capable of launching nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles, doing only 56 miles off Japan's westerly Oki Island? And what had gone wrong? The Soviets were volunteering no answers.

Japanese surveillance aircraft first spotted the 3,000-ton sub on Thursday. Dense white smoke was spewing from its conning tower. That was a sign, Japanese officials later speculated for a time, that fire might have ignited the solid fuel of the three SS-N-5 missiles (range: about 750 miles) that the diesel-powered warship can carry. A day later, the sub was spotted again, this time with smoke billowing from the stern while accompanying tugs trained streams of water on it. Whatever the problem, the ship now seemed incapable of diving or even cruising on its own power.

After the sub's eventual rescue, Japanese officials noted that the *Golf II* class dates back as far as 20 years, meaning that the mystery vessel could be one of the oldest—and perhaps most decrepit—in the Soviets' 127-sub Pacific Fleet. The presence of that formidable force has made the Sea of Japan a hub of subsurface activity and, not coincidentally, the scene of a growing number of underwater accidents. Last week's incident took place not far from where the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* collided with a Soviet nuclear-powered submarine in March. ■



Twenty-five is enough: members of the national unity Cabinet at first meeting

Fiscal measures designed to impress Washington as much as the Israeli citizen.

## Back Home in the U.S.S.R.

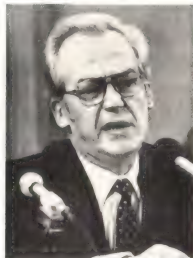
*A Soviet defector recants, spinning a yarn worthy of a spy novel*

The story had all the makings of an espionage bestseller. Chapter 1: Against a romantic backdrop of canals and palaces, Oleg Bitov, a high-level Soviet journalist, disappears from his hotel while covering the Venice Film Festival in September 1983. Chapter 2: Bitov, the former foreign culture editor of Moscow's *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, surfaces in London a month later and issues a statement declaring that he has fled his homeland to protest the repression of intellectuals and, in particular, to denounce the Soviets for shooting down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on Sept. 1, 1983. His defection is hailed as a major coup for British intelligence, which provides the journalist with money, a Toyota and a house in rural Sussex. Chapter 3: Bitov vanishes from London, leaving his car illegally parked near the Soviet embassy and about \$50,000 untouched in his British bank account.

Last week Bitov wrote Chapter 4 at a curious press conference held in Moscow. Looking tired and drawn, the 52-year-old gray-haired editor read an account of what he called his kidnapping, torture and blackmail at the hands of British intelligence agents. As Bitov told it, his ordeal began on the night of Sept. 8, 1983, when he returned to his hotel room in Venice "only to get a terrible blow at the back of my head." He claimed that he was drugged and put on an Alitalia flight from Pisa to London with a forged British passport in the name of David Locke.

Bitov declared that the "Sherlock Holmeses" who interrogated him at an army barracks near London were unable to prove that he was a KGB spy, despite their use of "blackmail," "bribery" and "physical violence." Once British agents realized that he had no intelligence value, he said, they offered him "a well-paid job in the gallery of mud-slinging anti-Sovieters." Bitov said he escaped by gaining his captors' trust and then slipping off unnotified to buy a one-way airline ticket to Moscow. In an attempt to add credibility to his story, he named his alleged captors, gave the addresses of two safe houses where he was hidden by British intelligence, and read out the telephone numbers of the intelligence service's London offices—which enterprising Fleet Street reporters promptly called. The phones were answered by operators who refused to give any information, and shortly afterward the lines were disconnected.

The British government, which had granted Bitov political asylum last January, told quite a different story: Bitov originally had approached Italian police in Venice in September 1983 and informed them that he wanted to defect to the U.K. The Italians in turn alerted the British embassy in Rome; an agent of the Secret Intelligence Service met with Bitov and



Oleg Bitov at his Moscow press conference

judged him to be a genuine defector.

Arrangements were quickly made to fly him to London. There, after exhaustive debriefing, he began to write and broadcast articles portraying himself as a Soviet intellectual who had realized his secret ambition to escape to the West. In two lengthy pieces that appeared in the London *Sunday Telegraph* last February, Bitov described how Moscow's leadership used the press as an Orwellian "Ministry of Truth," relying on an all-pervasive censorship largely imposed by Soviet journalists themselves. After the articles were



London safe house cited by the journalist

A Toyota, a book contract and \$50,000.

published, the security net around Bitov began to relax, and he was no longer accompanied everywhere by an intelligence agent.

Bitov seemed to be settling into a normal life. In March he signed a contract with the British publisher Hamish Hamilton to write a book on Soviet censorship called *Tales I Could Not Tell*. In May he visited the U.S. as a guest of *Reader's Digest*. On his return, Bitov went to Paris, where he was offered a job with Radio Liberty, the U.S.-supported radio station that broadcasts to the Soviet Union, and gave three 15-minute interviews. But something was not quite right. Friends noticed that Bitov was growing touchy and suffering from fits of depression. He seemed especially affected by the long separation from his wife Ludmilla, 38, and daughter Xenia, 15, whom he once described as "the dearest creature in all the world." Just before his disappearance last August, he reportedly told several fellow Soviet émigrés that he had cancer and was going into the hospital for tests and treatment.

Precisely how and when Bitov returned to the Soviet Union remains a mystery. Some observers speculate that he was abducted by the KGB. Others suggest that he could have been a KGB plant, sent by the Kremlin to gather useful information about the way British intelligence deals with defectors. Both theories, however, were discounted by a senior British intelligence officer involved in the case. Said he: "Bitov was certainly not a double agent, of that we are sure. He was, in our assessment, enticed back, not abducted." Bitov's future position could provide clues to his new role. He told Western reporters last week that he would resume his former job, which would imply some kind of official blessing. If he becomes a nonperson, as British intelligence officials predict, it will suggest he was operating on his own.

Derek Thomas, political director of the Foreign Office, summoned Soviet Chargé d'Affaires Nikolai Posilyagin and informed him that London found Bitov's statements in Moscow "absurd and offensive." The Soviets, for their part, did not appear eager to turn the episode into an East-West diplomatic incident—especially on the eve of Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's meetings with President Ronald Reagan and other U.S. officials this week. Indeed, the Soviet press seemed to downplay Bitov's torture charges. Said a Western diplomat in Moscow: "It looks as if the Soviet authorities do not want to make an enormous issue out of this."

Whatever the explanation, the Bitov affair has clearly damaged the prestige of British intelligence. What had appeared a triumphant success has turned into an embarrassing failure. As for the Soviets, they have again proved the value of one of their most useful weapons against defection: rarely allowing a citizen to travel abroad with family.

—By Thomas A. Sancton.  
Reported by Frank Melville/London, with other bureaus

## HUNGARY

## Living Within the Limits

*A Moscow ally remains loyal while flirting with capitalism*

A Hungarian is knocked unconscious in the Stalinist era and miraculously comes to his senses in a hospital in 1984. To his amazement, he learns that physicians are no longer addressed as "comrade doctor" but as just plain "doctor." Moreover, János Kádár, once out of favor with the Kremlin, now leads the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The man's wife appears in the company of a punk rocker in black leather; she has remarked, she says, and has opened a fashion boutique. "Where am I?" means the Hungarian. "Can this be socialism?"

That punch line sets off a howl of laughter in the Budapest cabaret Vidám Színpad, where audiences flock to see *Go Hungarians*, a comedy revue with a heavy dash of political seasoning. In the nearly three decades since Soviet tanks crushed the 1956 uprising, Hungary has learned to live and prosper just within the limits of what Moscow will tolerate. Budapest presents ample evidence of the cautious changes that have made Hungary's 11 million people the most Westernized and best fed in the Soviet bloc.

Long lines and empty shelves may be common in many other parts of Eastern Europe, but the shop windows of Budapest display everything from stylish eyeglass frames and fur coats to swimming rafts and potted cactus plants. The main market near Váci Street is a colorful cornucopia of scarlet paprika garlands, pigs' heads on hooks, mounds of emerald melons and fish tanks teeming with carp.

Since 1968, when the Hungarians began to re-order their economy and abandon strict Soviet-style central planning, the country has pieced together a new system of economic management that mixes state ownership with individual enterprise. Hungarian agriculture, for example, has prospered by encouraging the cultivation of private plots on state-organized cooperative farms. The government is giving factory managers the power to make many of their own decisions about production quotas and reinvestment of capital and to reward efficient employees with bonuses. The latest reforms have given workers a say in choosing their bosses. Soon to come, say government economists, will be a cut in state subsidies that keep prices of some goods artificially low. "We do not deny that we are pragmatists, but our final goal of

creating a socialist society remains unchanged," says Gyula Kovács, vice president of the National Planning Office. "The ways of reaching that goal are different. We leave it to history to judge which is better."

There is some anxiety that the economic changes will result in higher prices and open the way for such capitalist troubles as bankruptcy and unemployment. In any case, the success of Hungary's flirtation with capitalist economics will ultimately depend on Moscow: every dip in the East-West temperature hits Hungary like a cold spell. Budapest downplayed East German Leader Erich Honecker's decision not to visit West Germany; instead it emphasizes the possible improvements in superpower relations that might result from the Washington meeting between President Reagan and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

The Hungarians remain loyal members of the Warsaw Pact, and observed Moscow's boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics. But officials in Budapest

stress the need for "the small and medium-size" countries to keep the dialogue with the West going. "The deterioration of the international situation does not necessarily have to lead to the disruption of relations between countries of different social systems," says Foreign Ministry Secretary of State János Nagy. "The bulk of East-West relations is still there and works."

As a landlocked country with few natural resources, Hungary must earn roughly 50% of its gross national product from trade, about equally divided between the Soviet bloc and the rest of the world. Despite disapproval from Moscow, Hungary continues to trade heavily with the West, which means that it is constantly in need of hard currency to pay for imports and to service its \$8 billion foreign debt. For this reason, Hungarian trade officials are particularly anxious to have the U.S. extend most-favored-nation status beyond the one-year periods granted successively since 1978. Says Tibor Antalpeyer, the director-general of the Foreign Trade Ministry in charge of commercial relations with the West: "We have to run the 100-yd. dash over hurdles while others race on a flat track."

Hungary has been adventurous in economic reform but cautious about political change. There has been talk of giving more power to what is now largely a rubber-stamp parliament. Under new election laws, more than one candidate must compete for most of the parliamentary seats in elections scheduled for 1985, although, of course, all candidates will be approved by the Communist party. With little recent experience of political debate to draw upon, Hungarians are scratching their heads about the form such campaigns will take. There is also much speculation about who will take over from Kádár, 72, who has been in power for 28 years and has yet to name a successor.

Whether or not Hungary's Communist allies feel threatened by the changes in Budapest is another imponderable. Hungarians often quote the late Leonid Brezhnev's words of praise for their agricultural experiments. No matter who is in power in the Kremlin, certain verities and limits are not likely to change. Two performers at Vidám Színpad sing a ditty on the subject. "We are all sailing in the same boat," the lyrics go. "If you want to jump overboard, go ahead! Splash in the water if you like! But then get back in and help us row." The duo then launches into a chorus of the Russian folk tune, *The Volga Boat Song*. —By John Kohan/Budapest



Most Westernized and best fed: shoppers at a supermarket in Lake Balaton



Private stock: a farmer brings pigs to a Budapest market  
Along with pragmatic reforms, some anxiety.

## World Notes

### ARGENTINA

## Documenting a Tragedy

"We are certain that the military dictatorship produced the greatest, most savage tragedy in our history." These words were the conclusion to 50,000 pages of testimony and evidence issued last week by Argentina's National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons. President Raúl Alfonsín had appointed the panel shortly after he was sworn in last December. Its mission: to investigate the so-called dirty war waged against terrorism by the Argentine military from 1974 until Alfonsín's election.

According to the report, at least 8,961 people disappeared during those years, many of the victims vanishing after the military took power in a 1976 coup. Large numbers were tortured to death in "subhuman" makeshift centers that lacked ventilation, plumbing and other amenities, where jailers used methods, such as prolonged outdoor burial up to the neck, that were "unknown in other parts of the world." Alfonsín thanked the commission for its "hard, painful, heroic work" but did not indicate whether he would prosecute or even release the names of those accused of the crimes. The 60,000 citizens who demonstrated outside the presidential palace after the report's release definitely wanted him to do so.



Angry kin of "disappeared"

### HONG KONG

## Let's Make a 1997 Deal

The experiment will be unique in the annals of Communism's relations with capitalism. After nearly two years of negotiations, the governments of Britain and China last week completed a draft agreement that will end British rule in Hong Kong and launch a local government that, while being part of Communist China, will be based on private enterprise. Under the terms of the accord, to be initiated in Peking this week, Britain will continue to administer the thriving capitalist enclave until 1997. But in 1988 a 13-year transition period will begin during which a "joint liaison committee," selected by Britain and China, will oversee the transition from British rule to self-government under Chinese residents of Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong will become a "special administrative region" of China after 1997, it will maintain its "present system of law" within a capitalist framework for at least 50 years more.

Chinese officials were delighted that the agreement was reached in time for the Oct. 1 National Day celebration commemorating 35 years of Communist rule. The British Parliament and the Chinese National People's Congress must still formally approve the accord, but neither government expects much opposition.

### SOUTH AFRICA

## Compromise, Then Violence

The strike would have been the first legal job action by South Africa's black miners since their union, the National Union of Mineworkers, was formed in 1982. The walkout at gold and coal mines was called off at the last minute, however, when management agreed to raise the workers' holiday pay. But word of the compromise evidently did not reach all the mines, and throughout the gold-rich Transvaal and Orange Free State some 40,000 blacks refused to go underground for their usual shifts. When they did not disperse, police riot squads moved in, and the angry

miners responded with showers of stones. In two days of such confrontations, seven blacks were killed and more than 250 injured, some seriously.

Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the union, accused the mine owners and the government of provoking the violence. The police blamed the disturbances on rival tribal factions and union troublemakers. In Washington the State Department last week issued a statement expressing regret at the deaths and injuries, "especially since they apparently occurred after a legal strike by black mineworkers was successfully resolved."

### INDIA

## Happy Ending for a Movie Star

When erstwhile Screen Idol N.T. Rama Rao, 61, was dismissed as chief minister of India's southern state of Andhra Pradesh last month, an eruption of protests left 53 dead and hundreds injured. With national elections due to be held by mid-January, many Indians saw his ouster as another in a string of attempts by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to bring down state governments run by her opponents. Although Mrs. Gandhi denied any role in the removal of Rama Rao, the rising opposition has clearly been damaging to her Congress (I) Party. Last week the state governor, a political ally of the Prime Minister's, ruled that Rama Rao should be reinstated.

Cheering supporters lined the streets of Hyderabad, the state capital, as the popular star greeted his fans from the roof of a van that he has dubbed his "Chariot of Divine Enlightenment." Later he thanked Mrs. Gandhi "for seeing the light." Many of his admirers would like to see him run for Prime Minister against Mrs. Gandhi. After starring in more than 300 feature films during his 31-year career, he would have one important attribute: instant nationwide recognition.



Rama Rao

### CHAD

## The Taming of a Radical

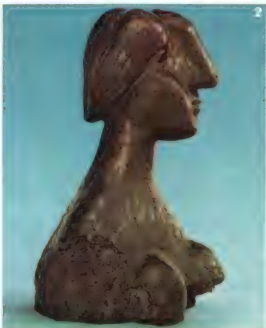


French troops at work

One of the world's most erratic and radical leaders, Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, is being uncharacteristically reasonable these days. Last month he formed a loose union with conservative, pro-U.S. Morocco. Last week he signed an agreement with France under which the two countries will make a "total and simultaneous" withdrawal of troops from the former French colony of Chad, beginning this week.

Under the agreement, which Morocco may have helped to broker, the French will remove some 3,000 men, 800 vehicles and 40 aircraft, which have been buttressing the government of President Hissène Habré, the Libyans will pull out their 5,000 men from northern Chad, where they have been backing the rebel forces of Habré's onetime ally and ousted predecessor, Goukouni Oueddei. Libya and France greeted with relief their anticipated departure from the costly stalemate. But the Chadians, mired in a seesaw 19-year-old civil war, were anything but jubilant. Stung by the French failure to consult them before the agreement and skeptical of the mercurial Libyan's change of heart, they viewed the accord as a French betrayal and a Libyan deception.

# Which is Which is





# “primitive”? “modern”?

Maybe you can tell at a glance; maybe you can't. But before you leap to the answers down below, put another question to yourself: How do they relate to each other, and we to them? It is a fascinating question which we can only now fully explore for the first time—in an exciting and enlightening new exhibition “Primitivism” in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern” at The Museum of Modern Art.

In over 350 works—150 modern and 200 tribal—we can now get a definitive view of the similarities and differences, the influences and affinities which have intrigued us for nearly a hundred years. It is a show which sheds new light on, and challenges much of our “received wisdom” about, both “primitive” and “modern” and their relation to each other. It may be the first art exhibition you’ve ever seen which asks and answers so many questions about art—and about ourselves.

That’s one reason we sponsored this exhibition, and why we urge you to see it at the times and places listed below. In our business as in yours, we must constantly ask ourselves new questions, and be prepared for answers quite different from those we expect—from the endless resources of our individual imagination, individual creativity and individual innovativeness. Sponsorship of art that reminds us of these things is not patronage; it’s a business and human necessity.

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“Primitivism” in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern” appears at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, September 27, 1984—January 15, 1985; The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, February 27—May 19, 1985; Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas, June 23—September 1, 1985.

1. SALLI MARRI, *Alentejo*, ca. 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 2. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 3. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 4. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 5. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 6. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 7. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 8. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 9. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 10. *Mask*, 1920. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.





Bieber (with glasses) and a weary but pleased U.A.W. bargaining team announce the historic accord with General Motors

WETA CORNELIUS/AP

## Economy & Business

# Labor's Hard Day's Night

*Autoworkers and miners win more job security in their new contracts*

It is an excellent settlement that makes more secure than ever in history the jobs of our members, while providing much deserved economic improvements immediately and in the years ahead." That bold claim by Owen Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers, at 2:20 last Friday morning, brought to an end three months of intense negotiations between General Motors and its workers. The agreement on a new three-year contract raised hopes that the auto industry, which is now enjoying a boom, will be spared a long and damaging strike.

Barely two hours later, Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers, emerged from a suite at the Sheraton Carlton Hotel in Washington, D.C., to announce tentative agreement on a new 40-month contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association. Trumka called the deal "a giant step forward in this industry." If miners approve the contract, it will be the first time since 1964 that the U.M.W. has reached a new wage agreement without a strike.

Both the Autoworkers and the Mineworkers have a reputation for tough bargaining and long, bitter strikes. Each union takes pride in its history and its legendary past leaders, who were willing to

stand up even to Presidents of the U.S. to get a good deal for their workers. But the mood in the negotiations this year was different. This time there was more talk about job security than higher wages. Autoworkers, whose numbers have declined from 1.5 million to 1.2 million in the past six years as their industry was battered by fuel shortages, recession and Japanese competition, were eager to protect the remaining jobs. Miners have seen their ranks thin from a heyday in 1942 of 595,000 to a current membership of 160,000, and they too wanted to keep on working. In the end, the agreements the two unions reached last week reflected a spirit of cooperation rather than confrontation.

While final details of the two union contracts will not be announced until this week, neither apparently involved large wage hikes that could unsettle the recovery. The agreements came at a time when new statistics indicated that the economy was beginning to slow down from the torrid pace of the first half of the year, as most experts have been predicting. The Commerce Department reported last week that according to its preliminary estimates, the gross national product in the third quarter grew at an annual rate of 3.6%, down from 7.1% in the second

quarter. In addition, housing starts in August plunged 12.8% to an annual rate of 1.53 million units, the lowest level since December 1982. Many experts agreed with the judgment of Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, who told a Washington press conference, "The economy has shifted down to a more moderate and sustainable growth rate." Somewhat more disturbing was the latest figure on inflation. Consumer prices in August rose .5%, or an annual rate of about 6%, the biggest increase since last spring. This could be the first sign that slightly higher inflation is on the way.

When the U.A.W. and General Motors failed to reach agreement on a new contract by midnight of Sept. 14, the union called its workers out on a selective strike against key GM facilities. The union was trying to have the greatest impact on GM production with the smallest amount of work lost for its members. The selective strike, allegedly authorized by the U.A.W. because of pressing local grievances, originally affected only 13 facilities, employing 62,700 workers. By no coincidence those plants turn out nearly half of GM's total production, including such hot-selling models as the Pontiac Fiero and Buick Century. But as the selective strike continued last week, more and

more workers began to feel the impact of the partial walkout. At its peak, the strike affected 40 plants and 110,000 workers, one-third of GM's blue-collar work force.

Entering into the talks with GM, U.A.W. leaders were determined above all to secure guarantees against further job loss. They were supported in that goal by young union members who did not want to join the thousands who have already left the industry. "I want to have a job eight, ten, 15 years from now," said Larry Sandridge, 29, a polisher at Cadillac's Clark Avenue plant in Detroit for the past eight years. "I'm on the bottom of the totem pole. If we don't get job security now, I'm going to be pushed off." Concur's fellow Assembly Line Worker Jack Stewart, 30: "If you don't have that job, a wage increase isn't going to do you any good."

After the talks ended, Bieber claimed to have negotiated "an unprecedented job-security program with far-reaching new protection for our members against job loss." He said it would safeguard them against job loss due to plant closings, new technology and "outsourcing"—the industry's code name for producing cars and parts abroad. He also said he had won commitments from GM to "maintain production and create new job opportunities" in the U.S. The program offered by GM reportedly consists of a \$1 billion "job security pool" from which workers with as little as one year's seniority can draw pay in the event their jobs are eliminated. The new contract does not contain any outright constraints on GM's ability to import parts and even entire cars from abroad.

The proposed contract provides for a pay increase of 2.25% in the first year and lump-sum payments in the second and third equivalent to 2.25%. The lump-sum payments, however, will not be folded into the workers' current average basic wage of \$9.63 an hour on which cost of living pay adjustments are calculated, and thus will not be built upon in future pay hikes. Under the agreement, workers will be eligible for "attendance bonuses" of up to \$500 a year and a one-time ratification payment of \$180. A unique feature of the contract is a venture-capital fund worth \$100 million. GM is putting up the money to help displaced workers launch their own businesses.

**T**hose pay provisions seem to represent a victory for GM. Said Alfred Nelson, an industry analyst with Wall Street investment firm Becker-Paribas: "GM has clearly got the better part of the bargain. The settlement is yet another indication of the shift of power from labor to management."

GM had sought all along to minimize wage increases in order to keep manufacturing costs down. Said Alfred Warren Jr., GM's chief labor negotiator, after the conclusion of the talks: "It was absolutely essential that we come out of these negotiations totally competitive, that we come out in a better competitive position than we went in. As we look forward,

we think that the contract will help."

Both GM and the union were outwardly optimistic last week that the contract will be approved by workers. Said Warren: "We are confident that this agreement, reached after tough but professional negotiations, will be ratified quickly." Concurred Bieber: "I'm confident that once the leadership and rank and file have a chance to look at it, they will accept it."

Nonetheless, there is a clear and present danger that the contract might be rejected by GM's 350,000 union members. The first step in ratification will take place Wednesday, when the agreement is put before a special meeting of the 300-member unit council of local union leaders in St. Louis. If they approve, the accord will then go to the rank and file for their assent. Voting could take up to ten days.

Union officials concede privately that they expect a tough ratification fight. Many senior union members, who are relatively safe from layoffs, are likely to vote

the miners were out for 111 days, and in 1981 the walkout lasted 72 days. But U.M.W. President Trumka this year was determined to break precedent. The coal miner turned lawyer wanted to win better salaries and better job security—without recourse to a strike. When the talks in Washington ended, he claimed to have secured a "totally non-concessionary" agreement. "It makes no giveback, no takeaways," said the U.M.W. president. "It makes gains in wages. It makes gains in job security. It makes gains in the area of safety. It makes gains in the area of pensions."

In fact the terms were relatively modest. Wages will increase 10.25% over the 40 months of the contract. The top hourly pay will go from \$14.16 to \$15.56. Pensions, sickness and accident benefits will also be increased slightly. The job security provisions include measures to protect miners' seniority and rights at mines leased to new operators, rules to benefit U.M.W. workers laid off as a result of subcontracting and a requirement that mine-



U.M.W. President Trumka reaches a deal at dawn: "A giant step forward in this industry"

*A break with tradition for two unions known for tough bargaining and long, bitter strikes.*

against the agreement because it did not get them fatter paychecks. Warned David Lankford, 37, a sweeper with 18 years seniority at the Clark Avenue Cadillac plant: "I want a raise. I'd vote down anything less than getting back our 3% a year." Rallying under the slogan "restore and more in '84," workers like Lankford have maintained that the union should not only recoup concessions made in its 1982 contract with GM at the depth of the auto industry's troubles but also win additional benefits. That year, U.A.W. leaders predicted the contract with GM would pass comfortably, only to see it scrape by, 52% to 48%.

The United Mine Workers have an even stronger tradition than the Auto-workers of rejecting contracts negotiated by their leaders and hitting the picket line. Five times in the past two decades, workers have gone on strike. In 1977-78

owners notify the union when they plan to sell an operation and furnish proof that the buyer will abide by the union contract. In the past, new owners frequently broke existing wage contracts.

The fact that two of the most powerful and combative unions have managed to achieve at the bargaining table what they have formerly sought to get by the picket line may be an important precedent for the U.S. labor movement. Says Scott Merlis, a securities analyst for Shearson/American Express: "The Autoworkers' agreement is a watershed in the sense that we are moving from the British model of confrontation to the Japanese model of cooperation between labor and management." But it still remains to be seen if the rank and file will conform to that new model.

—By Christopher Redman.  
Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and Paul A. Wittman/Detroit

## A Little Unexpected Optimism

Bankers see progress on defusing the Third World's debt bomb

Central bankers and finance ministers, who are not exactly a frivolous group even at the best of times, have been particularly solemn over the past two years as they struggled with the Third World's staggering debt problems. But the financiers arriving in Washington for this week's joint annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were in an upbeat mood. Gone was the near panic that swept the same meeting in 1982 after Mexico declared that it could not make its loan payments on schedule. Now the bankers and ministers share a growing optimism about the health of the world economy. Said C. Fred Bergsten, director of Washington's Institute for International Economics: "This year's meeting will be a love feast."

While the debt bomb has still to be defused, its tick is much softer than before. "The international financial system has the capacity to handle the Latin American debt crisis," said Economist Arnaldo Musich, an unofficial adviser to Argentine President Raul Alfonsín. Robert Solomon, a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, agreed. "The countries can grow out of it. The world can grow out of it."

One key reason for the sunnier mood is the exuberant U.S. economic recovery, which has stimulated growth around the globe. Indeed, the American surge has been so strong that some economists fear it might eventually force the Federal Reserve to push up interest rates to keep growth under control. The clearest sign of U.S. economic strength has been the continuing strength of the American dollar abroad. Last week it hit alltime highs against the British pound and the French franc and climbed to a 1½-year peak against the West German mark. The British pound was worth more than \$2.30 in 1980 and about \$1.50 a year ago, but now fetches barely \$1.25. Late in the week the West German Bundesbank bought several hundred million dollars' worth of marks in an effort to shore up the value of its currency.

Some experts suspect that the runaway dollar may be partly a political phenomenon. Foreigners watching this year's presidential campaign for clues about the future investment climate in the U.S. like what they see in the public opinion polls. Says Stephen Marris, a former economist for

the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development: "In the last two or three weeks, the growing feeling is that it's going to be a landslide for Reagan. That basically means more people want to put money into America."

Whatever is causing the dollar's climb, both the U.S. rebound and the strong currency have been a tonic to many countries. Reason: the thriving economy whets the American appetite for imports, while the strong dollar slashes the price of foreign exports to the U.S. This has been particularly important to the indebted developing countries. Brazilian exports to the U.S. have climbed 44% over the past two years, to an estimated \$6.9 billion for 1984, while Mexico's are up 15%, to \$18 billion. Boasts Treasury Secretary Donald Regan: "What is good for the U.S. has to be good for the rest of the world. We are the engine of recovery. We have enabled the other nations of the world to recover faster."

Mexico, whose plea of poverty set off the emergency, is now showing how the problem might be solved. The government of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado has cut its domestic spending and taken other painful IMF-demanded

steps to put Mexico's economy in order. The country's creditors rewarded it last month with financial breaks that could serve as a model for agreements with other borrowers. The accord allows Mexico to repay about half of its \$95 billion in foreign loans at an average interest rate of 14½%, down from 14%, by 1998, eight years beyond the original deadline. That will save the country \$400 million per year in interest payments.

The international debt crisis, however, is still not over. Argentine Economy Minister Bernardo Grinspun, whose country is now the most troubled of all Latin American borrowers, was in Washington last week for another meeting with IMF Managing Director Jacques de Larosière. The two discussed a long-delayed austerity program aimed at attacking Argentina's hyperinflation rate, which is now 1,200% a year. Without an accord by Sept. 30, the country will be unable to get loans that will permit it to make overdue interest payments on its \$44.4 billion of debt.

Latin American borrowers continue to be haunted by the possibility of a further rise in U.S. interest rates. A jump in the prime rate earlier this year from 11% to 13% raised their debt payments by \$5 billion and led them to consider forming a cartel to demand easier terms. Latin debtors today are running the same type of risk as homeowners with adjustable-rate mortgages. Though they may have originally borrowed at an affordable 7%, householders could be forced to default on their loans if borrowing costs suddenly rose. Said Lawrence Brainard, the chief international economist for New York's

Bankers Trust: "If rates rise by another 2% to 3%, as some of my colleagues predict, we will be back to Square 1." Last week, however, Morgan Guaranty and other banks dropped their prime rate of interest from 13% to 12½%.

Mexico and other Latin nations are also concerned about the cash drain required to pay off the foreign debt. In the past year, Latin American countries have transferred \$30 billion more in interest payments to their creditors than they have received in fresh lending. That represents 3% of their total gross national product. Mexico alone has had an \$11 billion annual outflow and expects to continue losing \$7 billion a year even after it becomes eligible for increased credit in about two years. Declared Mexican Finance Secretary Jesus Silva Herzog two weeks ago at a meeting of the eleven largest Latin debtors in Mar del Plata, Argentina: "The real problem of the foreign debt is far from resolved. You do not solve a problem in one or two rounds when the match may take 15 rounds or more." —By John Greenwald.

Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and Frederick Uggheuer/New York



The IMF's De Larosière



Changing fresh fruit and vegetable prices in Argentina  
Inflation is now raging at an annual rate of 1,200%

# Half an Ingot for the Steel Industry

Reagan rejects quotas but accepts another form of protectionism

In a long-awaited decision last week that left no one jumping for joy, President Reagan ruled out import quotas to shield the American steel industry from cheaper foreign steel. Instead he opted for a system of voluntary restraints on shipments to the U.S. by producers in Japan, Brazil, South Korea and elsewhere and vowed stiffer enforcement of existing Fair Trade laws. Unionized steelworkers said Reagan did not go far enough toward protecting their jobs. The steel industry, drained by \$4.7 billion in losses during the past two years partly because of foreign competition, had lobbied for more protection.

In deciding against strict import quotas, Reagan turned down the recommendations of the U.S. International Trade Commission. It said in July that the domestic industry was being damaged by



Japanese steel being unloaded in New Orleans

imports and urged a five-year program of high tariffs and quotas for such important products as sheet and strip steel, plate and wire. Reagan would have none of it. Quotas, he said, would do more harm than good to the economy and not "be in the national interest," even though they might temporarily save some jobs in steel. Voluntary restraints seemed to be the only workable way to go.

While steel unions and companies were urging quotas, other interest groups were lobbying against them. Farmers were opposed because they feared foreign governments would retaliate by restricting U.S. agricultural sales. U.S. banks did not want the White House to be too restrictive against steel from Brazil and other developing countries, which need the money from exports to pay interest on debt owed to American banks. Cheaper foreign steel keeps the price of Detroit's cars more competitive with those from Japan, so Detroit's autoworkers have reason to approve Reagan's decision. Major steel

## "Dear Mr. President . . ."

*Whoever sits in the Oval Office next January will be deluged with advice about the economy in general, and the mounting deficit in particular. At their September meeting the members of the TIME Board of Economists offered these recommendations:*

### **Alan Greenspan, a New York City consultant, to Reagan:**

The critical issue you face is getting the deficit down and doing it in a manner credible to the financial community. That will help defuse inflationary expectations linked to the deficit. What we need is a deficit reduction of \$40 billion to \$50 billion a year, and the way to do that is first to look at ways to cut spending. Then you can raise taxes as a last resort.

### **Charles Schultze of the Brookings Institution to Mondale:**

I would urge you to be quick and be bold. A large reduction in the deficit is better than a smaller one, and it will not threaten the recovery. Regarding spending cuts, be tough from the start. It will not be hard politically to correct later any errors you might make.

**Schultze to Reagan:** Appoint a panel of distinguished economists to assess the consequences of unchecked budget deficits. Use your post-election honeymoon to get agreement on the outlines of what to do. I am sure that you will then be convinced that a tax increase is really necessary.

### **Martin Feldstein of Harvard to Reagan:**

Your key priority should be to find a strategy for gradual elimination of the deficit. Credibility is crucial. If the financial markets can be convinced that you will virtually eliminate the deficit, real interest rates will come down and the dollar will become more competitive overseas. But your program should not sacrifice the tax reforms you have achieved. Tax changes should be fair and simple and not add to the disincentives created by the tax system.

### **Rimmer de Vries of Morgan Guaranty Trust to Reagan:**

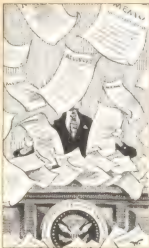
The time has come for the U.S. to take on more leadership in Europe and Latin America. Instead of being told how to run our economy by foreigners, we ought to be more aggressive in making suggestions. For example, we should dismantle our trade barriers in exchange for the dismantling of barriers overseas on agriculture and services. The U.S. should import less; it should export more.

### **M.I.T.'s Lester Thurow to Mondale:**

You must eliminate the deficit at one step with a truly large tax increase, perhaps on gasoline, and a value-added tax. If this is not done, you will not truly be President but the caretaker of the Reagan deficit. You will be its prisoner. Your only hope is to strike now and blame the large tax increases on the profligate ways of your predecessor.

### **Thurow to Reagan:**

Many of your economic successes have been due to good luck rather than wise policies. Be prepared to face up to the trade deficit, now running at a \$130 billion annual rate, which could become a crisis.



### **Walter Heller of the University of Minnesota to Mondale:**

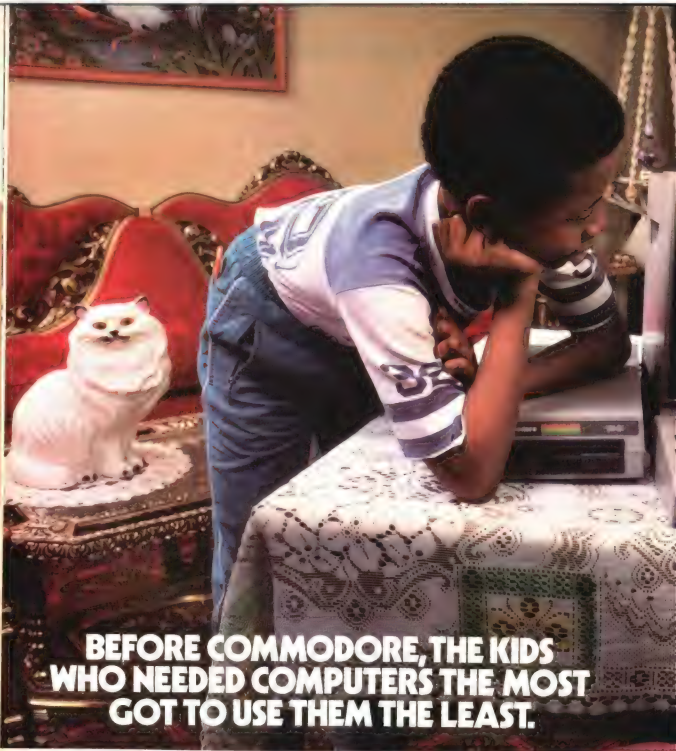
Your plan to cut the deficit by two-thirds was courageous and responsible. But it should be backed by a longer-term commitment to tax reform along the lines of the Bradley-Gephardt modified flat tax already proposed in Congress.

### **Heller to Reagan:**

To tax or not to tax? That is the question. There is only one answer: Tax! Your charge toward a balanced-budget amendment is a political cop-out unless you also fight for a realistic program of budget cuts and tax increases.

### **Brookings' Alice Rivlin to both Reagan and Mondale:**

I urge you to take quick and bold action on the deficit. It is actually one of the easier problems you face. I would then urge you to shift to harder problems like Third World development and getting an arms-control agreement with the Soviets. These issues are much more important than the deficit.



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## Economy & Business

# Breaking Through to Big Profits

*A craze born in the ghetto becomes a whirling cash dance*

users who are big exporters, Caterpillar Tractor of Peoria, Ill. for one, are also in favor of lower-cost steel. It allows them to make products for sale abroad at more competitive prices.

Under the program announced last week, U.S. Trade Representative William Brock will begin talks with foreign governments about reducing the inflow of their steel from about 25% of the \$30 billion U.S. market to 18½%. That is slightly more than the 15% sought by the industry and its unions. This would be similar to a plan worked out by the Reagan Administration in 1981 that put limits on the number of cars Japanese manufacturers shipped to the U.S. In steel, as in cars, the threat of more restrictive measures by Congress will be a lever in the hands of U.S. negotiators. Washington could also threaten to block foreign access to the U.S. market if the other countries do not go along with lower steel exports.

In addition to the so-called voluntary restraints, the Reagan plan calls for stricter enforcement of laws against dumping, wherein steelmakers sell products in the U.S. for less than their cost of production. Merely suggesting that exporters might be subjected to unfair trade investigations could be enough to stop dumping.

Reagan's ruling was a politically astute move in an election year; thousands of votes in such steel-producing states as Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio are likely to be influenced by the decision. Indeed, Bethlehem Steel and the Steelworkers Union had timed their petition to the Trade Commission so that Reagan would be forced to make a decision in the middle of the campaign. In an appeal to Midwestern Rust Bowl voters the day before Reagan's announcement, Walter Mondale had called for the very import quotas the President rejected.

**S**teel-industry executives who sought the quotas nonetheless praised Reagan's action. Bethlehem Chairman Donald H. Trautlein called it "an appropriate response." U.S. Steel Chairman David M. Roderick said the President's plan "moves to correct the steel trade program in a comprehensive and enforceable fashion. If fully implemented, it would put 25,000 to 40,000 steelworkers back on the job."

The decision on steel leaves the Reagan Administration with a mixed record on trade issues. In the spring of 1983, the President agreed to sharply higher tariffs on Japanese motorcycles to assist Harley-Davidson, the sole remaining U.S. motorcycle maker. Three weeks ago, though, he refused to protect the copper-mining industry with quotas that would have restricted imports from Chile, Peru, Zaire and other copper-producing countries. The President has staunchly advocated free trade in speeches, but sometimes, like last week, he has compromised in its practice.

—By John S. DeMott. Reported by William Stewart/Washington

**B**reak dancing has been banned from certain shopping malls, sidewalks and no doubt countless living rooms as a public nuisance. But the ghetto-born dance fad, with its twirls, windmills and head spins, has shown remarkable staying power. As a result, dozens of entrepreneurs are making a fast break to cash in on its widespread popularity among teenagers by spinning off such accessories as clothing, how-to books and video games.

A world break-dance championship sponsored by Swatch, the Swiss watch brand, took place last week in Manhattan. The purse totaled \$25,000, including \$3,500 prizes for the top soloists. Best for-

the most important element of the music. After a couple of listenings anyone can catch it."

Many of the new breaking products are intended to make the acrobatics easier on the knees and skull. Most break dancers do their gyrations on cardboard retrieved from supermarket dumpsters or on sheets of linoleum. Early in September, though, a California toy company called Koki rolled out a 4½-ft.-sq. polyvinyl dance mat designed especially for breaking. Price: \$18. The company is promoting the mats with a \$1 million TV ad campaign, and hopes to sell 500,000 by Christmas. Orders are already tumbling in from K mart stores across the country. Tucked inside the packages will be catalogs featuring matching T shirts, bandanas, armbands, knee pads and silicon wax to make spinning easier. A Pennsylvania firm, Apex International, has introduced a six-piece break-dancing kit for \$20 that includes a folding mat, padded gloves, a glossary of the lingo and a 30-minute cassette of instructions and music.

Wrangler, the jeansmaker, in January will begin selling its Wrapid Transit collection of break-dancing fashions in red, purple, blue and black. The twill pants (\$25) will be loosely tailored in the legs and reinforced in the seat and knees. The jackets (\$30) will be sleeveless, with six pockets. Van Doren Rubber of Anaheim, Calif., has produced a special red-black-and-white version of its Vans wrestling shoe (\$32), designed for break dancing's fast footwork.

Teach-yourself products are especially popular. K-Tel's three instruction records and cassettes have sold more than 2 million copies since May. So far, at least five paperback books have hit the shelves. The bestseller, *Breakdancing* (Avon: \$2.95), by Mr. Fresh and the Supreme Rockers, has sold 600,000 copies. Says Avon Executive Leigh Haber: "Break dancing has created incredible excitement. It's no longer just a trend."

This summer break dancers have appeared in commercials for McDonald's, Pepsi-Cola and Mountain Dew. R.H. Bruskin, a New Jersey market research firm, estimates that some 30% of U.S. teen-agers have tried break dancing. The company does not estimate how many of them may have broken an arm or a leg in the process. But would-be breakers no longer have to risk aches and sprains to get their kicks. A Silicon Valley firm, Epyx, has marketed a video game called Breakdance. Its joystick-controlled hero, named Hot Feet, knows more than 400 different moves.

—By Stephen Keepp. Reported by Dorothy Ferenbaugh/New York and Charles Pelton/San Francisco



**Spin-off: a polyvinyl mat that goes for \$18**  
Hoping to sell 500,000 by Christmas.

cign team was the West Germans, who outspun the British and French crews.

Inspired partly by Kung Fu movies and African dance styles, black and Hispanic teen-agers invented breaking more than ten years ago in New York City's South Bronx. Its name, some say, came from the percussive instrumental break in soul-music songs. The dance caught the fancy of the press about two years ago and was propelled into fame by music videos and such recent films as *Breakin'* (which earned \$36 million, and *Beat Street* (\$16 million). The sound-track album of *Breakin'* has sold more than a million copies, and music to break by continues to sizzle on the charts. Says Monica Lynch, vice president of Tommy Boy Records, a Manhattan label: "The beat's





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**TEXAS**

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Airport Hilton Inn  
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Dallas  
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Dallas Hilton  
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On sale September 23-29 unless otherwise indicated.



**It's the Special Selection Values Sale. Twelve products specially chosen to give you more of the features you want, for a lot less.**

- 1. Kenmore Upright Vacuum. Save \$100 Now \$129.99** It has variable speeds, 8 carpet settings, active edge clean, and beater bar. (Regular separate price of vacuum and attachments totals \$229.99.) On sale September 2-29. #34531.
- 2. Kenmore PowerMate Vacuum. Save \$40 Now \$159.99** With a powerful 3 HP motor, beater-bar brush, edge clean, and cord and tool storage. On sale September 2-29. #24300.
- 3. Kenmore Dishwasher. Save \$130 Now \$299.99** This hardworker has 3-level wash action, a Water Miser cycle, and a Power Miser control to help save energy. #7032.
- 4. Kenmore Microwave Oven. Save \$150 Now \$399.99** It has 300 programmed recipes and they're all yours at the touch of a finger. Convenient auto defrost, too. #88951.
- 5. Sewing Machine. Save \$50 Now \$149.99** With 6 built-in stitches (4 utility, 2 stretch). And Ultra-stitch to help make buttonholes look professional. On sale September 23-October 27. #13402.
- 6. Kenmore Chest Freezer. Save \$50 Now \$319.99** A total capacity of 12.0 cu. ft. With interior light, "key eject" lock, and convenient lift-out basket. #15128.
- 7. Upright Freezer. Save \$50 Now \$349.99** Its total capacity is 13.1 cu. ft. Comes with defrost drain, Power Miser, "key eject" lock, and a door made of handsome textured steel. #24133.
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- 12. Color TV. Save \$70 Now \$379.99** It has a full 19-inch diagonal-measure picture, electronic tuner, one button color. And, of course, remote control. #4204. Simulated TV picture.

Each of these advertised items is readily available for sale as advertised.

All savings shown are minimum savings nationally. Prices and dates apply only to the Continental United States except Alaska. Available in most Sears retail stores.

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Only 9 mgs. tar  
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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Lights: 8 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine, 100's: 9 mg.  
tar, 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

## Business Notes

### SAVINGS AND LOANS

#### Soft Landing for a High Flyer

When Charles Knapp bailed out last month as chairman of struggling Financial Corp. of America, a soft landing seemed likely. Last week it was learned that Knapp, whose high-risk growth strategy for the California-based savings and loan left the thrift holding too many unprofitable fixed-rate loans, had managed to secure a golden parachute from Financial Corp.'s board of directors in the form of a severance payment worth \$2 million.

Federal regulators, who have been forced to pump loans worth more than \$2 billion into F.C.A. since July to offset withdrawals by jittery depositors, are angry about the parting payment and are said to be pressing F.C.A.'s board to recoup the cash. That, however, will not be easy. Knapp arranged for the \$2 million to be deposited in a foreign account. The money is probably beyond the reach of U.S. authorities and F.C.A. shareholders. While Government regulators back home seek new ways to keep F.C.A. afloat, notably by backing the company's plan to sell \$2 billion worth of new certificates of deposit, Knapp last week was reportedly vacationing in Europe. He is unlikely to be short of funds.



The \$2 million man

### DIVESTITURES

#### Reynolds Returns to Its Roots

Starting in the 1960s, corporate America went on a binge of conglomerate building. Companies pursued mergers and acquisitions with abandon, creating business empires that often manufactured hundreds of diverse products, from bread to computers. Many companies have begun to doubt the theory that management expertise in one field means success in another. Such huge combines as ITT, Gulf & Western and RCA have been selling holdings to streamline operations. Last week, in one of the biggest divestitures to date, R. J. Reynolds Industries, the second-largest U.S. cigarette manufacturer, took a back-to-basics step by selling its energy businesses to Phillips Petroleum for \$1.7 billion. The units sold include Aminoil, an oil and gas exploration concern, and Geysers Geothermal, which produces steam for power generation in California. It was the second major divestiture of the year for Reynolds. In June the company spun off its containerized shipping subsidiary Sea-Land to shareholders.

Reynolds will focus on its consumer products, which in addition to cigarettes include Canada Dry soft drinks and Del Monte foods. For the slimmed-down company, tobacco will account for an estimated 76% of earnings, up from 67% in 1983.

### REGULATION

#### A Gala Goodbye to the CAB

The party at the Washington Hilton last Friday night was a grand bash. Hundreds of guests mingled convivially, munching on fried chicken, hand-carved roast beef and ham. As the good spirit, and good spirits, flowed, the only odd note was the cause of the celebration: Government employees, past and present, were saluting the abolition of their agency, the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Created in 1938 to regulate airline fares and assign routes, the CAB is scheduled to go out of business on Jan. 1. Its demise will be the final step in the process of airline deregulation that began in 1978 and has led to fierce competition in the industry.

Alfred Kahn, who spearheaded the deregulation drive as CAB chairman under President Carter, joined several other former members of the board and dozens of ex-staffers from across the U.S. to raise a glass last week. Kahn said he was always confident that the CAB would be doomed once deregulation got going. "My plan," he declared, "was to scramble the eggs so much that nobody could unscramble them."

A CAB official emphasized that the sunset celebration was paid for by the agency's employees, not the Government. But, he quipped, "even if we did use taxpayers' money, what could they do—shut us down?"



### PERSONNEL

#### High-Tech Recruiting

In Washington next month, several high-technology companies will attempt to recruit students, using, appropriately enough, high-tech methods. Business People Inc. of Minneapolis will set up large-screen TVs at 30 of the top schools for technical education, including Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Stanford and the University of California, Berkeley. Then, in a Washington studio, recruiters from such companies and Government agencies as Sperry, Tektronix, Combustion Engineering, the Federal Aviation Administration and the National Security Agency will make their pitches via satellite to the assembled seniors. The students, perhaps 4,000 to 7,000 of them, will be able to ask questions of the industry and Government representatives, although the officials will not be able to see them. Says David Aberman, executive vice president of Business People: "The companies can get their message out to literally thousands of candidates nationwide."

The new method does have its limits. It serves only as an effective way of allowing companies to introduce themselves to students. Jobs will still be offered, and accepted, only after low-tech, face-to-face interviews.

### EXCURSIONS

#### Low Fares on the High Seas

Pleasure cruises were once reserved for people with plenty of money and plenty of time. No longer. The success of *The Love Boat* on TV helped stir demand for ocean voyages, and cruise companies are enlarging their fleets. Since 1981 the industry has launched seven new ships, bringing the number of luxury liners serving the U.S. to about 75. In addition, many vessels have been rebuilt to increase their capacity. This expansion has set off a fierce competition for passengers, driving down the price of a brief cruise to within the means of most pocketbooks.

Crown Cruises offers a one-day excursion from San Diego to Ensenada, Mexico, for only \$75. From New York City, Fantasy Cruises has a four-night trip to Bermuda for \$395 and a one-night "cruise to nowhere" that goes out into the Atlantic and back for \$85. To attract a broad clientele, Fantasy advertises its voyages



Bon voyage for as little as \$75

on posters on New York subway cars. Other companies feature special cruises to suit individual tastes, including trips with wine-tasting sessions, film festivals, exercise classes and bridge tournaments. In January, Cunard Line will offer a Trivial Pursuit cruise from New York City to the Caribbean aboard the *Queen Elizabeth 2*.

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The Somerset will turn serious driving into pure pleasure.

In this computerized era, the Somerset also offers electronics that will actually help you, not just dazzle you. Its digital

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There are tailored reclining bucket seats, separate heating ducts for the rear seat and even an ingenious slide-out drawer instead of a glove box.

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# Medicine

## Ali Fights a New Round

*A brain disorder focuses attention on the dangers of boxing*

He could "float like a butterfly, sting like a bee." The young Muhammad Ali dazzled all who saw him perform in the ring, where his dancer's footwork and lightning-fast combinations enabled him to win the world heavyweight championship three times. And out of the ring, his nonstop chatter, his doggerel verse and his insistence that he was "the greatest" won him worldwide affection.

But the Ali who checked into the Neurological Institute at New York City's Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center last week evoked a much different emotion. For at least two years, journalists and associates had noticed that Ali appeared to have aged beyond his years: his hand-eye coordination seemed to be impaired, and his speech was frequently unintelligible. The question was asked, aloud and in print: Could Ali, 42, who retired from boxing almost three years ago, be suffering from some kind of brain disorder?

After Ali checked into the hospital to complete tests, doctors provided an answer: he was suffering from symptoms similar to those of Parkinson's disease—slurred speech, loss of coordination, reduced muscle strength and a persistent feeling of fatigue. The doctors' report raised the inevitable questions about whether Ali's problems were a product of his profession, and triggered anew the debate over whether boxing should be banned.

Ali's doctors said the former champion had been suffering from a Parkinson's-like syndrome since 1981, and they agreed with Ali that there might be a connection between his condition and his career, which began when he won an Olympic gold medal in Rome in 1960.

"I've been in the boxing ring for 30 years, and I've taken a lot of punches," a subdued Ali said at a news conference. "So there is a great possibility something could be wrong." But the doctors denied that Ali was suffering from dementia pugilistica, a medical term for the often caricatured condition of the simple-minded bruiser who has taken one punch too many. "He is not punch-drunk," said Dr. Stanley Fahn, the neurologist in charge of his case. Nor, doctors insisted, is Ali suffering from Parkinson's disease, a disorder that

occurs when the brain ceases to produce sufficient amounts of dopamine, a substance that helps in the transmission of nerve impulses involved with motor control. Having some of the symptoms of the disease does not mean that he has the disease.

But Ali's condition could mean that he has suffered brain damage as a result of



On the ropes in 1974



In the hospital last week

blows. A punch thrown by a heavyweight can land with a force exceeding 1,000 lbs., and it can snap the head back or twist it violently, causing the jelly-like brain to be slammed against the rigid skull like a yolk inside a raw egg. When this happens, nerve cells and blood vessels may be twisted, ruptured or stretched. The brain, like any other damaged tissue, can swell, causing it to press against the inside of the skull, resulting in further damage.

Such brain injuries are not uncommon among boxers. An American doctor, Harrison Martland, observed as early as 1928 that boxers who took considerable punishment could become punch-drunk. Other physicians have documented the damage to fighters' brains. British Neurologist

MacDonald Critchley reported in 1957 that a boxer's chances of suffering brain damage increased in direct proportion to the number of bouts fought. Another British researcher, Dr. J.A.N. Corsellis, reported in 1973 that he had examined the brains of 15 former fighters who had died of natural causes. Corsellis observed a striking pattern of cerebral changes rarely found in those who were not boxers. Subsequent studies have shown that boxers are far more likely than non-fighters to have a condition called *cavum septi pellucidum*—a cave, or space, between two membranes that divide the brain.

Many boxers with *cavum septi pellucidum* suffer permanently from the Parkinsonian symptoms that sent Ali to the hospital. After two days in the hospital, however, Fahn reported that Ali was responding so well to doses of Sinemet and Symmetrel, drugs that replenish the brain's supply of dopamine, that his symptoms were "melting away." Visitors, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, said that Ali was entertaining other patients with magic tricks and seemed to be his old ebullient self. Before leaving the hospital for a trip to the Sudan, Ali vowed to mend his ways. "I'll get all my business done by 10, get to sleep at 10:30 and sleep till 6," he declared.

The champion's improvement elated his admirers. Others pointed out that at least 70 fighters have died as a result of injuries over the past decade, and the issue was raised again last week of whether boxing should be allowed at all. British researchers have called for the abolition of the sport. In 1983 the American Medical Association carried an article in its journal stating that "the principal purpose of a boxing match is for one opponent to render the other injured, defenseless, incapacitated, unconscious... Boxing, as a throwback to uncivilized man, should not be sanctioned by any civilized society."

But the A.M.A. does not expect such a plea to be heeded. So the association has come up with 14 proposals that it is urging all states to adopt. Among them: requirements that fighters undergo rigorous physical and neurological examinations and that doctors with complete emergency equipment be present at ringside for all fights. New York State has adopted a program whose regulations correspond closely with those recommended by the A.M.A., and it has already used its new rules to disqualify at least two boxers with degenerative nerve disease. As Ali's experience shows, even the best boxers can take a beating to their bodies. Increasingly the view is that there is no reason why they should take it to their brains as well.

—By Peter Stoier. Reported by Rafi Saraghadad/New York



# Mighty Convenient



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Kings: 1.1 mg. "tar," 1.1 mg. nicotine, 100's: 2.0 mg. "tar,"  
1.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report March 1984.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

# Environment



Workers using powerful butane burners to destroy seedlings at Ward's Nursery

## The Orange Flames of Florida

*Racing to save the citrus industry from a deadly canker*

**L**ike Job, the long-suffering citrus farmers of Florida have cause to wonder why they are being punished. At Christmas time last year a harsh freeze wiped out 10 million trees statewide. This spring the notorious Medfly appeared in Dade County and began devouring fruit. Now, with the wholesale price of orange juice already 27% higher than last year, the worst yet has come. Last week scientists confirmed that a deadly new strain of citrus canker, a bacterial disease that is harmless to humans but defoliates and kills trees, has swept from Ward's Nursery, a citrus farm near Avon Park, to at least four other nurseries, one as far away as Naples, 125 miles from the source.

The disaster threatens to paralyze the \$1.2 billion Florida citrus business. Says Stephen Poe, a plant pathologist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture: "Of every disease that affects the citrus industry, canker is the most destructive." In a swift, ruthless effort to halt the epidemic, the state began emergency burning. It is the only reliable means of eradicating the disease. Ward's and the other four nurseries are being entirely torched; so are any seedlings recently purchased from those nurseries, along with any surrounding trees. By year's end many millions of plants will have been incinerated, leaving dozens of farmers near bankruptcy and in despair.

Consumers will feel the pinch too. More than half of the orange juice, 90% of the limes and 75% of the grapefruits used in the U.S. come from Florida. Although this year's supplies are already secured, Tropicana, one of the nation's largest juice makers, is worried about next year's

harvest. Says Spokesman Tim Clarke: "We can certainly expect prices to increase even more."

Often compared with the foot-and-mouth disease that kills cattle, canker spreads quickly and easily. It clings to clothing, skin, tools and equipment and is buoyed for short distances by wind-blown rain. Florida's last bout of canker, in 1913, took more than 20 years and \$6 million (the equivalent of more than \$60 million today) to eradicate. Poorer regions such as Mexico and Asia, however, which cannot afford to burn groves, are frequently plagued by canker. And with an active source of infection in the world, it was only a matter of time before the blight invaded the U.S. once again.

That the latest outbreak began in Ward's Nursery seems especially tragic: the 60-acre seedling company is one of the oldest and most reputable in the state. Indeed, the unflinching character of Owner Franklyn Ward was one reason the trouble was reported so promptly. Last month Nursery Manager Charles Collins noticed brown spots surrounded by yellow rings on one seedling's leaves and then on others. State pathologists quickly identified the blemishes as canker. Where the disease came from, however, remains a mystery. No

Ward's staff member had been farther than Louisiana in 18 months. Even more baffling, the Florida *Xanthomonas campestris* bacterium is somewhat different from its common cousins, equipped with a vast arsenal of immunities and extra fatty acids, which give it strength, it is a particularly virulent strain.

Ward's meticulous records have helped in the containment battle. Using his notations on every seedling sold and the exact block and row from which it was taken, officials were able to track down all his customers for the past twelve months, when the sometimes dormant canker might first have appeared. So far, 46 nurseries that bought from his have been quarantined for a full year. The other nurseries found to have canker last week were also Ward's customers, and the tracing of their customers is now in progress, though officials fear that less thorough records almost certainly mean that some plants will evade detection.

Despite his help, Ward got no break on the state's scorching policy. Beginning two weeks ago, a box the size of a huge doghouse was dragged by a tractor through his fields. Butane burners inside singed each plant. Ward could not watch. Says he: "It's devastating to see charred stumps where a week ago there was green." His losses could total \$1.3 million.

The other quarantined areas, even those with no sign of canker, will fare little better. In addition to having to burn any plant within 125 ft. of a seedling from the afflicted nurseries, citrus growers must defoliate the area around the burning and spray an even wider radius with expensive copper-faced pesticide.

Many farmers view the state orders as too drastic and based on too many unknowns. Roland Dilley, an owner who stands to lose a third of his 3 million-tree crop, insists that the measures "will devour 80%" of Florida's nursery industry. Says Manager Collins, who, along with 28 other employees, has been laid off from Ward's Nursery: "It's like finding out your neighbor has pneumonia and ordering the cremation of all people for five blocks around." To make matters rougher, neither the state nor the Federal Government is likely to compensate the farmers, nor does any insurance cover such losses. As testing and retesting continue, bad news is possible every day. For at least a year, Florida's farmers, a stoic, resilient group, will worry and wonder whether too much or too little has been done.

—By Natalie Angier. Reported by Joseph McQuay/Miami



Fruit riddled with blight

## People

Few can boast a more stunning sense of style. But New Wave Disco Queen **Grace Jones**, 32, has been knocking men out in a more direct fashion on location in France for the new James Bond film. *A View to a Kill*. The script casts Jones as May Day, who tries to outfox Her Majesty's secret agent. One scene called for Jones to hoist a 6-ft., 180-lb. KGB agent over her head to put him in his place. Jones says she could have lifted Actor Bogdan Kominowski on her own, but the studio insisted that supporting wires be attached to him as a safety measure. Declared Jones: "My mother always warned me about picking up men." Obviously. Mom didn't know Grace could manage it without letting them fall for her.

After the birth was announced, British bookmakers counted the odds at 8 to 4 in favor of a George, with Henry considered a 50-to-1 long shot. But Henry it was **Henry Charles Albert David**, to be regal about it; Prince Harry, as he has already been dubbed by Britons one and all. The third in line to the throne wasted no time in the hospital. A glowing **Prince Charles** and **Diana** took him



Heels over head: Jones puts some muscle into her Bond movie role



Charles and Diana leaving the hospital with their royal offspring

home just a day after his arrival. Not to worry about an over-enthusiastic departure though. Just as it does for every other British newborn, the National Health Service will send a "health visitor" round to little Harry's new home this week to

be sure Kensington Palace is a suitable environment for rearing a child.

There is a world of tax shelters and trust funds, limousines and mansions, but one thing

that the 400 richest people in America cannot afford to do is rest on their assets. In 1984, according to *Forbes* magazine, one needs to be worth at least \$150 million—a sesquicentimillionaire—to make the list of the country's wealthiest individuals. Among those dropped from this year's roster was **Bob Hope**, 81, who was credited in 1983 with a fortune of \$200 million. Hope dared the magazine to prove he was worth more than \$50 million. *Forbes* took up the challenge this year and after an extensive investigation into Hope's real estate holdings in California came up with a revised figure of a measly \$115 million. Still, nothing to laugh at.

Considering the debacle over nude photographs that led to the resignation of last year's winner, the judges' choice of Miss Utah as the new Miss America seemed made in promotional heaven. **Sharlene**

**Wells**, 20, began her reign last week by promising a return to "traditional values." The 120-lb., 5-ft. 8-in. blond daughter of a Mormon missionary does not smoke, drink, take drugs, believe in abortion, condone premarital sex or back the Equal Rights Amendment ("The ERA would make us a neuter society. I prefer to be a woman"). A communications major at Brigham Young University who wants to become a news anchorwoman, Wells bristles at the suggestion that her conservative views helped her win the crown. "It seems that the media are bent on forcing everything I say into their Miss America mold," she complains. "The judges never questioned me about my views on morals, religion and social mores." And it seems unlikely that relieved pageant officials will ever have to.



Wells: Impeccable beauty

She describes the yoga influence in her new exercise book as "when East meets Welch." But **Raquel Welch**, 42, had a close encounter of a different sort when she posed with the four gold medalists from the U.S. 4 x 200-meter freestyle relay team for the October issue of *Vanity Fair*. She was "thrilled to meet these wonderful athletes," and describes Bruce Hayes, 21, Mike Heath, 20, David Larson, 25, and Jeff Float, 24, as "shy and awfully

nice." Yes, but *not that shy*. The photo session was going swimmingly when a water hose was turned on in the studio, and—surprise!—"the boys had dropped their swim trunks." Welch, like any other good sport, just grinned while they bared it. "They were very discreet, but it was still pretty funny for me when I realized what was happening," says Welch. "I was afraid to look down." Oh, what cheeky devils.

■  
Almost six years after she left the public whirl of politics for the more private pursuits of a professorship at the University of Texas, former Congress-



Jordan: honor roll

woman **Barbara Jordan**, 48, is anything but forgotten. In the past year Jordan has been honored repeatedly. Houston's main post office was named for her, she was inducted into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame, and the International Platform Association named her the U.S.'s greatest living orator. But the honor the eloquent Democrat liked most came last week, when Texas Governor Mark White and his wife were hosts to a \$1,000-a-plate picnic dinner to benefit the newly created Barbara Jordan Student Fund. The evening's proceeds are expected to be \$500,000, all earmarked for student scholarships and summer internships, which Teacher Jordan applauds. She was applauded too when Author James Michener presented her with the 1984 Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award. Jokes Jordan of her honors roll: "I wonder if people know something that I don't know. I don't plan to check out any time soon."



Wet Gold: U.S. Olympians showing Welch their freestyle

Six others had tried and failed, two of them losing their lives in the endeavor. But the danger involved made the remarkable voyage all the more appealing to **Joe Kittinger**, 56. Last week, after more than three days of drifting through the clouds, Kittinger became

the first to make a solo balloon flight across the Atlantic, setting a new long-distance record of more than 3,500 miles in the process. A three-tour Viet Nam War pilot who was a P.O.W. for eleven months, the former Air Force colonel and longtime adventurer once jumped out of a balloon at 102,000 ft. to free fall 16 miles, the highest parachute jump and the longest free fall ever. For his transatlantic antic, Kittinger took off from Caribou, Me., in a ten-story-tall helium-filled balloon



Kittinger celebrating in Europe, inset, and Rosie off to the Atlantic

named **Rosie O'Grady's**. He made landfall three nights later at Capbreton, France, but decided against a descent in the dark. The following afternoon, with ballast low and a storm approaching, he and Rosie were finally ready to settle down near Savona, Italy. "I knew it was going to be an interesting landing," recalls Kittinger, who was thrown from the basket as Rosie hit some trees. Jubilant despite a broken foot, he had just one regret. "I wanted to land in Moscow," he announced. "Not for political reasons, but because it would have been the longest possible trip." Already, of course, he's dreaming about the Pacific.



Seldes with feline friend

His brief film career began and ended with a role as one of the witnesses in Warren Beatty's *Reds*, but **George Seides'** other career—that of writer—has shown remarkable longevity. Seides, who turned 94 this month and considers retirement "the dirtiest ten-letter word alive," is putting final touches on the galleys of his next book, *The Great Thoughts*, due out in April. Begun in 1960 after he finished his bestseller *The Great Quotations*, *Thoughts* is a compilation of highlights from the words and wisdom of the world's greatest thinkers. Tops in this cerebral hall of fame is Sigmund Freud, who gets 20 out of 750 pages, followed closely by Carl Jung and Alfred Adler. Any disgruntled illuminati who feel they were left out may yet turn up in Seides' next book, tentatively titled *Adventures with People: The Noted, the Notorious and the Three S.O.B.s.*

—By Guy D. Garcia

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# Religion

## Confidence and the Clergy

*A minister faces jail for refusing to testify*

**E**x-Policeman Earl Sands, a Florida suspect accused of sexually abusing a six-year-old girl, surrendered last month to the pastor of a church he had attended. The prosecutor later subpoenaed the clergyman, John Mellish of the Margate Church of the Nazarene, and asked him to reveal what Sands might have told him. Mellish, 32, the father of three sons, refused, invoking the right to confidentiality for conversations with someone he was counseling. Such a claim has normally been honored by judges in the U.S. but Mellish was sentenced to 60 days for contempt of court and spent one night in jail earlier this month. He is now free on bond while an appeals court reviews his case.

The minister's quandary results from growing public alarm over child abuse, which has led to numerous state laws requiring anyone who knows about such a crime to inform authorities. In at least 20 states, toughened child-abuse laws have eliminated the longstanding legal and societal recognition of the "clergy-penitent privilege." Mellish would face no legal trouble if the crime were murder or rape; clergy in Florida are forced to testify only concerning abuse of children, the aged and the handicapped. His jailing, however brief, has prompted united interreligious support, with Roman Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis joining Protestants to back Mellish's appeal.

Rabbi Solomon Schiff, who directs prison chaplains for the Greater Miami Jewish Federation, argues that there is an "unbreakable bond" between clergyman and congregant that is protected by the U.S. Constitution's guarantee of religious freedom. Agrees fellow Rabbi Brett Goldstein: "While under biblical law I have the right to reveal information of a criminal nature when that information could prevent another crime, it is not an obligation. Religious questions are between me and my God, and not between me, my God and the state." Michael Fitzgerald, a lawyer for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Miami, maintains that under the current law a grand jury could haul in every cleric in Florida and ask, "What have you heard about child abuse lately and from whom did you hear it?" But Denny



Florida Pastor Mellish

Abbott, a Florida crusader against child molestation, insists. "The overriding concern should be for our children, and clergymen should report these crimes."

Child abuse, both sides agree, makes the issues particularly agonizing, because the person seeking religious counsel is often continuing the offense. "You have a helpless third person who may suffer while counseling goes on," says Lynn Buzzard of the Christian Legal Society. "I got a call involving a pastor who had been told by a husband and wife that the husband had sexually abused their child. The pastor was torn. He was concerned about the child, but he also said, 'My God,



Catholic priest hearing a parishioner's confession

*An ancient discipline in conflict with modern laws.*

this is their first cry for help ever." The Rev. Charles Eastman, head of Miami's United Protestant Appeal, well understands both sides. When running a church day care center, he turned in parents whom he suspected of child abuse. But, he says, "never have I, nor will I, violate a confidence of someone who seeks counseling."

Eastman's position draws upon a firmly based heritage. The protection of the clergy-penitent relationship rests on "one of the more basic privileges," says Harvard Law Professor Arthur Miller—as strong or stronger than the similar

claims to confidentiality between lawyer and client or doctor and patient. The Fourth Lateran Council of A.D. 1215 formalized the already long-established clerical discipline of absolute secrecy for discussions during sacramental confessions. Under canon law, a Catholic priest who breaks the confessional "seal" is automatically excommunicated. In U.S. practice, the confidentiality privilege has been extended to non-Catholic clergy and to non-sacramental counseling with explicit clergy exemptions put into most state laws over the past several decades. Though the precise cutoff line is blurred, the privilege fades the further such counseling moves away from the purely religious toward the merely psychological. And it does not exist at all for general religious work. In 1977, a New York court rejected a priest's contention that he was not required to testify about conversations he might have had with prison officials about an inmate he was counseling.

In all U.S. legal history, only about 100 cases have involved efforts to abrogate the clergy-penitent privilege, says the Rev. John C. Bush, head of the Kentucky Council of Churches and the co-author of *The Right to Silence: Privileged Clergy Communication and the Law*. Bush adds that no recognized clergyman, accused of contempt of court for claiming the privilege, has lost if he fought for his rights and appealed to a higher court. In one celebrated instance, the Rev. Paul Boe, an American Lutheran Church official, avoided jail in 1974 after he refused to testify before a federal grand jury investigating an American Indian occupation of the reservation at Wounded Knee, S. Dak.

As it happens, the Mellish case is not the only one currently in court. There is at least one other, which turns on a somewhat narrower set of facts. In Arizona, David Crumbaugh, a Pentecostal minister, is fighting a six-month contempt sentence and \$1,000 fine for refusing to testify about what the wife of a convicted child killer told him while he counseled both during the murder trial. But Crumbaugh "got weak for a moment," as he put it, and has already signed an affidavit detailing what the wife said, thus undermining his privilege claim. Nonetheless, the National Coalition for Religious Freedom is offering him legal help because of its belief in the primacy of the privilege. Whatever the courts may decide in Crumbaugh's case and, more important, Mellish's, virtually all clergymen will continue to honor the privilege. For them the question is not whether they should, even in child-abuse cases. The question is whether they will be jailed for doing so. —By Richard N. Ostling, Reported by Martin Casey/Miami and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago





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# Education



Author Birnbach: "I stayed in dorms. I ate cafeteria food every day"

## Life Before the Preppies

A guide presents salty summaries of 186 colleges

Four years after collaborating on *The Official Preppy Handbook*, Lisa Birnbach has returned with a sequel: *Life Before Bif and Muffy* get the desk and mortgage. *Lisa Birnbach's College Book* runs down—sometimes literally—186 American schools. "I realized that there wasn't a single college guide that described life on campus," she recalls, "at least not the things that interested me."

What interests her are dorms, bars, amusements and sexual mores, as well as academics. According to the Birnbach report, *Animal House* was not such an exaggeration after all: at the University of Texas, "hazing is still popular; people get beaten up, raped, and just love it." Inter-racial dating at the University of Nebraska? "White sorority girls love to squeal." "Once you go back, you never go back."

Birnbach (Brown '78) bases her insights on more than rumor: she visited every campus in the book. Ducking into bars, attending the odd class, she sought students, professors and administrators, and distributed nine-page questionnaires. "I stayed in dorms," she declares in the tone of a war correspondent. "I ate cafeteria food every day."

The result of her 2½-year effort is a 515-page survey that covers a lot more than the standard data. She ventures into exotic territory like "Favorite Drugs," "Most Popular Off-Campus Hangout" and "Best Party of the Year," then considers: "Who are the best professors? How good is the campus infirmary?"

Birnbach's effort has received mixed grades. Her mostly favorable description of Amherst strikes its public affairs direc-

tor, Douglas Wilson, as "fair enough," and her in-person approach gets praise from W.W. Washburn, head of admissions at the University of Washington. But other administrators award her a D— a spokesman for Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa., charges that factual errors in Birnbach's treatment of his school are "just appalling." William Cotter, president of Colby College in Maine, fumes, "I can't get over how superficial and sloppy the Colby entry is."

The critics may not get the joke, but they have a point. Her sampling techniques were less than impressive and some of her generalizations seem based on insufficient authority. (Many Purdue students, she states, "drink and drink heavily.") Other conclusions seem applicable to just about any place but are offered as the lowdown on particular institutions. (Parents of the students at Northwestern are "directly responsible" for pushing their children in particular career paths.)

Even so, Birnbach's guide performs a certain service by focusing more than other volumes on what students should expect outside the classroom and off the campus. Moreover, she maintains, "I wrote up a lot of schools that otherwise wouldn't be heard of. That can only benefit them, no matter what I said." Robert Dawson, assistant to the president at Slippery Rock University in Pennsylvania, takes a broad view. "Students consider a variety of opinions before choosing a college," he says. "If I didn't have that much faith in 18-year-olds, I wouldn't be here." —By Richard Lacayo.

Reported by Kenneth Banta/New York

## Testing, Testing

SAT scores on the rise

There was mild optimism two years ago when scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test crept up a notch. Now the optimism has risen to a higher pitch: SAT averages for last June's crop of high school seniors made their largest combined gain since 1963. That was the year the scores began a decline lasting nearly two decades. Out of a possible 800, math results climbed by 3 points, to 471; verbal averages were up by 1, to 426. Says George Hanford, president of the College Entrance Examination Board, which sponsors the test: "We seem to have turned the corner in seeking to improve American education."

About 1 million college-bound high school seniors—one-third of the class of '84—took the SAT exam last year. The test is designed to predict how students will perform in college. But each year's results have come to be scrutinized as a signal of how U.S. high schools are doing. The plunge from 1963 (when the verbal average was 478, the math average 502) to 1980 and '81 (when they bottomed out at 424 verbal and 466 math) was attributed to social factors, softening academic standards and deteriorating schools.

This year's results, suggests Hanford, say that students "have grown up under a different set of circumstances, that their society was more interested in education." According to Chester Finn, professor of education and public policy at Vanderbilt University, the upturn can also be linked to a renewed stress on the fundamentals. The knowledge measured by the SATs, he says, "is the very kind that has been the object of the so-called back-to-basics movement for the past six to eight years."

Finn objects, however, to emphasizing the SAT as a measure of how much students are learning in school. "It's only supposed to measure the kid's ability to do college-level work," he points out. "That has at least as much to do with the brains you were born with and the educational environment you get at home." Cautions Fred Jewett, acting dean of admissions at Harvard University: "It is too early to say that the battle has been won."

Whatever their full significance, rising scores are preferable to falling ones. This year high school girls chalked up the most notable average increase—a 4-point jump in math, perhaps a result of increased concentration on math and science study. Moreover, at a time when the quality of America's teachers has raised concern, more students indicated a career interest in education, and their scores climbed more sharply than those of students generally. Potential educators had verbal averages of 398, up 4 points, and their math scores were 425, up 7. ■

# Getting to know some of your skin's

# WORST enemies

## Exposure

Pollution leaves harsh chemicals on your skin. And excessive sun, wind, or temperature extremes can conspire to rob your skin of its fluids. So you get that weathered look. That's why your skin needs daily replenishment.



## Your Parents

If your parents are of Scandinavian, Celtic, or Northern European origin, you've inherited a tendency to have dry skin and to wrinkle earlier than people born with more protective melanin in their skin. Although you can blame some wrinkles on your parents, easing the tiny dry lines that can deepen into age-revealing creases is up to you. Your special skin needs extra care. The kind you get with Oil of Olay.



## Sweat

Although you're exercising to feel younger, perspiration leaves behind a salty residue that can pull vital moisture out of your skin. And make you look older. Oil of Olay helps replenish the fluids perspiration steals away.

## Stress

When we get an overload of pressure, we tense up, frown, perspire, even tire to the point of sleeplessness. Stress causes our glands to secrete hormones that reduce the blood flow to the skin. That's why we look pale and wan. Long, deep breaths will help bring oxygen back to your skin.



## Your Own Hands

You have a real hand in deciding how young you look. Observe yourself! When you cleanse or apply cosmetics, how do you handle your face? Train your hands to be delicate, and move upward, outward, and in a clockwise direction. Pulling down, or too much rubbing is bad. When you massage Oil of Olay on your cheeks, do it in clockwise circles. And apply it to your throat and neck in upward motions.



## Your Body Clock

Changes your body undergoes each month can affect the beauty of your skin. The balance of hormones called estrogens and progesterogens is constantly shifting. And this "ticking" of your body's clock can cause water retention, puffiness, blemishes, and changes in skin's moisture and production of essential oils.

The more you know about your skin, the better you can take care of it with the mysterious beauty fluid, Oil of Olay. Because it is so similar to the natural fluids present in your skin, Oil of Olay works with them to replenish what time and skin's enemies can steal away. Cool, light, greaseless Oil of Olay eases dryness, softens tiny lines and helps you keep the fresh glow of youth.



# Why is it that most performance cars never

## Introducing the Peugeot 505 Turbo

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But logic did enter the picture when they purchased a new car for their transcontinental odyssey. A Peugeot 505 Turbo.

Its fuel-injected turbo engine can take you from 0-50 in a commendable 6.5 seconds. But Peugeot believes there's more to performance than acceleration curves. How well, for instance, does a car measure up from 0-500? That's 0-500, in miles.

The 505 Turbo does very well, thank you. Start with the Peugeot shock absorbers which utilize eight valves instead of the customary two. Or its four-wheel independent suspen-



*This is one good reason Peugeots are so comfortable. In the 505 Turbo, the deep-contoured bucket seats are upholstered in velour. Leather is optional.*



sion. Both contribute to the 505 Turbo's remarkably comfortable ride. So do the seats, which are constructed of costly polymerized foam, instead of old-fashioned springs.

Also, Peugeot doesn't squeeze its occupants into a cramped cockpit-like

interior. It gives you ample headroom, legroom and breathing room.

Then there's the Turbo 505's standard equipment which would be rare on other luxury cars, let alone performance cars: electric sunroof, cruise control, heated front seats, front and

have much to say about creature comforts?



rear spoiler, limited slip differential, and on, and on.

Yet its creature comforts notwithstanding, the 505 Turbo is very much a driver's car.

Its rack and pinion steering system, for example, can actually "read" differ-

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## Science

### Davy Jones Meets the Computer

Treasure hunters use electronics to find their fortunes

Diver Joseph Amaral was groping in the blackness 80 ft. below the surface of the Atlantic early this month, collecting musket balls and other artifacts from an 18th century shipwreck, when something glistened near him in the sand. A plain gold ring, the find seemed unexceptional at first in a treasure site scattered with gold doubloons, pieces of eight and other booty. But then a crew member noticed the inscription inside the ring: "In memory of my beloved brother, Capt. John Drew, drown'd 11 Jan. 1798, aged 47." The ring had belonged to Captain James Drew, who died just four months later when his own vessel, the *De Braak*, sank two miles from Lewes, Del., during a storm. This meant Amaral, 35, had proof that the wreck being explored was indeed the legendary British warship that preyed on the vessels of Napoleon's allies and when it went down, was reportedly loaded with gold bullion, jewels and gold and silver coins.

Finding a ring lost in the ocean would seem almost impossible. But according to Amaral's employer, Commercial Salvager Harvey Harrington, locating the ship was actually "embarrassingly easy." At least seven earlier expeditions had failed to find it. By contrast, Harrington's company, Sub-Sal of Reno, Nev., pinpointed the site in just three weeks last April, thanks to state-of-the-art devices that are making treasure hunters both more scientific and more successful. Where once these undersea detectives took a wild plunge with ancient charts and a hunch, the modern salvage team can reduce the search area to the size of a small lake, and hunt for pieces of gold no bigger than a pencil eraser.

Sub-Sal spent \$75,000 to find the wreck, and will spend a million more to complete the salvage. The payoff: \$5 million to perhaps \$500 million, of which Delaware will claim 25%. About \$50,000 of the salvor's initial investment went for one indispensable tool: side-scanning sonar of the type used by U.S. Navy ships searching for Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in the Sea of Japan last year. Mounted in a torpedo-shaped housing, the side-scanner emits pulses horizontally as well as vertically. It is towed behind a search ship, which methodically crisscrosses a designated area, to produce a detailed chart of the sea floor. By studying the "hits" on charts, an experienced technician can pick out possible ship ruins. "We found eleven targets in the first two days," says Harrington. His divers then went down to investigate; the fifth

wreck they checked was the *De Braak*, the object of their hunt.

The *De Braak* is a spectacular new find, but scarcely the only one. Other salvors are finding sunken treasure by using computerized navigational devices and techniques developed for oil exploration and military navigation. Magnetometers,

often used to detect ferrous metals, can pinpoint such common shipboard fittings as iron nails, barrel staves and anchors. Trailed behind a ship like a side-scanner, a magnetometer will record such objects even if they are buried in sediment.

The sea-searching mini-industry is so busy that it supports various suppliers and tinkers who refine and redesign electronic devices and other equipment to meet the special challenges of salvaging. One of the largest operators, Treasure Salvors of Florida, uses a specially designed high-speed magnetometer. Because it can move four times as fast as a normal instrument, the company has been able to cover 240,000 miles of seabed with unusual speed and thoroughness.

Treasure Salvors has already brought up at least \$27 million worth of gold, precious gems and artifacts from the wrecks of the Spanish galleons *Santa Margarita* and *Atocha*, which sank in 1622. The company found the sister ships in waters about 50 ft. deep off the Florida Keys. During the continuing quest to trace the path of debris scattered as the ships broke apart, Treasure Salvors has videotaped the search area from the air: the shallowness and clarity of the water enable detection of such important visual clues as scars on under-water reefs.

Finding the wrecks is often only the start. Sophisticated recovery techniques are needed to get at the loot. Various blowers are sometimes used to dislodge sand. The airlift, a sort of giant vacuum cleaner attached to the search ship via a long plastic tube, removes layers of sediment while divers sift for treasure. Diving methods developed for undersea commercial uses, such as seabed mining and pipeline building, have made it possible to salvage deep-water wrecks. A notable example: H.M.S. *Edinburgh*, a British cruiser that sank after a Nazi attack in the Barents Sea north of Murmansk, U.S.S.R., during World War II. The *Edinburgh* was located with sonar devices in 1981. Then, in what the London *Sunday Times* called "the greatest salvage operation in the annals of the sea," British salvors brought up most of her five-ton cargo of gold from icy waters 800 ft. deep. Hot water was constantly circulated through their diving suits to ease the extreme cold.

Such an operation, like those that located the *De Braak* and other recent finds, rolls back the long-held secrets of the deep. One measure of how far the salvage trade has come is that when the *De Braak* sank 186 years ago, salvage was impossible, even though her masts were visible above the surface for more than a year to mark her grave. —By Janice Castro, Reported by Jamie Murphy/New York and Jane O'Reilly/Key West



Diver Amaral, top, and *De Braak* booty



Some of the gold in H.M.S. *Edinburgh*

Finding treasure was embarrassingly easy.

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Presto chango: "good" GoBot Zeemon watches as his alter ego converts from street racer to a second Zeemon in a few nifty moves

## Living

### Hot Toys with a Special Twist

*Tricky robots capture little kids and big bucks*

**R**ecently on the planet GoBotron, the vile Cy-Kill eluded the dragnet of staunch and stalwart Leader-1 by changing himself into a motorcycle. Where would he go next to foment trouble? "Planet Earth is ripe for the taking!" sneered the nefarious one to his henchmen. "The earthling young can surely be persuaded to nag their parents until our triumph is complete."

The villain should be in sales. From FAO Schwarz in New York City to Talbot's Toyland in San Mateo, Calif., the invasion by pint-size plastic and metal robot figures is well under way and just may be the hottest toy trend ever. Yes, trend and trivia buffs—ever. Tonka Toys reports well over \$100 million worth of orders for its Cy-Kill and 29 other GoBots since they were introduced last January. If Tonka can fill those orders, GoBots will easily overtake last year's \$60 million worth of Cabbage Patch Kids. And Hasbro's rival 29 Transformer figures are expected to do

as well as if not better than the GoBots. With a handful of other companies also producing versions, the new little robots will have the most lucrative first year of any nonelectronic toy in U.S. history.

Retailers cannot get enough of the leading lines. Some 200 subteens recently snapped up 600 GoBots in Macy's Manhattan store in one day. "If we could get three times the number of robots we've ordered, we might be able to supply the demand," says Stanley Walsh, toys merchandise manager for the 105-store Child World chain.

The robot conquest has been accomplished without those twin evils of kids' toys: batteries and \$99.99 price tags. There are some larger versions, even a few that are battery-powered, but the 3½-in. to 5½-in. GoBots and their competitors are not to be confused with the fancier adult playthings that fetch drinks or sweep the kitchen. Rather, many of these unwired "action figures," which cost a

modest \$3 to \$22, get their go from a special twist. They are fantasy machines and long-favored hot-rods all in one. With a crank of the arms or a snap of the legs, each can be changed from a robot into a race car or a truck or a plane, then back to robot again. One of the Transformers, for instance, resembles an innocent cassette player until he is snapped open to become the despised Deception, Soundwave (\$15). GoBot's Leader-1 can be folded up to become an avenging jet fighter.

**T**hese transmigrants are so compellingly keen that Kiernan Rancilio, for one, forgot about playing with the motorized fire truck he received for his sixth birthday when he unwrapped his GoBots. "I felt so good when I saw them," says the Detroit youngster. "I carry them around everywhere."

GoBots first appeared in Japan last year but did not test well in the U.S. at first. Then marketers packaged comic-book-style stories of good vs. evil featuring their violence-prone figures, and the GoBots and other robots took off into hyperspace. Such spin-offs as fan clubs, lunch boxes and watches are being added to spur interest. Ideal (ten nonconvertible Robo Force figures such as Cruel and Vulgar) even issues a slick, 90-page magazine with feature articles on robotics and the future.

Predictably, robots are revving up in the TV listings. A syndicated show, *The Transformers*, began last week; a Robo Force cartoon, *Maxx Steele*, is scheduled to air in December, and a five-episode *Challenge of the GoBots*, animated by Hanna-Barbera, is set for next month.

Why do boys love them? Tonka Consultant Robert Malone, author of *The Robot Book*, a pictorial history, sees them as provoking a new sophistication. Says he: "They fascinate because they show kids that the world may not be what it seems." Well, maybe. A more down-to-earth appraisal: they are simplified Rubik's cubes on legs. No matter what, however, come Christmas morning, there had better be a few under the tree, or a lot of little kids will be thinking that their parents are evil Decepticons. —By J.D. Reed, Reported by Sara White/Boston, with other bureaus



Young earthling with GoBot, Transformer and Robo Force friends  
"They show kids that the world may not be what it seems."



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# Cinema

## Blues for Black Actors

America's largest minority seeks roles and role models

Consider two of this month's releases. One is a science-fiction comedy with more than its share of gags, chills and good feelings. The other is an electrifying whodunit from a veteran director whose films have received 31 Oscar nominations. In a simpler world these two movies—John Sayles' *The Brother from Another Planet* and Norman Jewison's *A Soldier's Story*—would pass through the theaters with the usual benediction or indifference from critics and the public. But because the films have casts composed al-

tickets sold, only 6.3% of the actors working in films in the two-year period ending June 1983 were black. Of the 142 films released by the major studios last year, fewer than a dozen had blacks in starring roles. Having seen it all before, blacks know not to ask for too much. "We aren't trying to reinvent the Hollywood wheel," says George Crosby, president of the Association of Black Motion Picture and Television Producers. "We just want to add spokes that will strengthen it."

Is the neglect a matter of economics

or racism? "Hollywood is too dumb to be racist," charges Actor Yaphet Kotto (*Blue Collar*, *Brubaker*). "This town is all about dough—that's the crime." For Leon Isaac Kennedy (*Pentecost*, *Body and Soul*), the problem is the industry's "blockbuster mentality. They want 100% of the audience pie. They'd rather not go for slices. And we get the crumbs." Universal Pictures Chairman Frank Price, who is grooming a young black for the rank of high-level executive, argues for *Realpolitik*: "If you say, 'Let's make X number of black pictures, you're not being financially responsible.' That depends on just what number X is. There is a market; there is a need. As Norman Jewison notes, 'All people need heroes. And Hollywood isn't providing blacks with any.' Jewison is white, but he has trudged this weary road before: in 1967 he directed *In the Heat of the Night*, a crackling confrontation between black man and redneck that won an Oscar for Best Picture. *A Soldier's Story* is his tautest, funniest, bitterest work since then, with a spar-

ling cast. For this, credit is due largely to Playwright Charles Fuller, whose *A Soldier's Play* earned the Pulitzer Prize and just about every other drama award of 1982, and to the Negro Ensemble Company, where the play was first staged. Every actor, from Adolph Caesar as the frog-voiced, wonderfully malign drill sergeant to Howard E. Rollins Jr. as the haughty black lawyer assigned to investigate the sergeant's death, puts subtlety and pride into his performance. Rollins is scarily imposing; he suggests a Sidney Poitier who refuses to ingratiate himself to anyone, least of all the audience.

There is a suggestion of man meeting role here. *A Soldier's Story* looks like an act of love for everyone involved—including Jewison, who peddled the project to three



Art Evans and Howard E. Rollins Jr. in *A Soldier's Story*



Joe Morton and Dee Dee Bridgewater in *Brother from Another Planet*

most entirely of blacks, because Sayles' comedy is set primarily in Harlem and *A Soldier's Story* in a Negro barracks in 1944, a lot of hopes and anxieties are riding on them. It is one of the black man's burdens: convincing a skeptical Hollywood Establishment that his experiences are worth putting on film and that they will attract an impressive number of moviegoers, black and white.

One might think that the debate had already been settled by the box office performance of last year's films. Black actors starred in three of 1983's six biggest hits: Eddie Murphy in *Trading Places*, Richard Pryor in *Superman III* and Jennifer Beals in *Flashdance*. This summer's two out-of-nowhere hits, the rap musical *Breakin'* and Prince's *Purple Rain*, suggest that movies with black themes can attract large mixed audiences. And yet these are a few glittering tokens; for most black actors and audiences, roles and role models are scarce. Though blacks constitute about 12% of the U.S. population and account for an estimated 20% of movie

studios before Columbia Pictures bought it on the condition that the director work for free instead of receiving his usual \$1.5 million salary—but for Rollins it is a late second chance. Like LeVar Burton after *Roots* and Louis Gossett Jr. after *An Officer and a Gentleman*, Rollins found himself a celebrity but not a hot commodity after his Oscar-nominated role in *Rainman* (1981). He did not make another feature until *A Soldier's Story*. "People have been a little slow to pick up the phone," he understates. "Most of the scripts I did see used the catchword 'dignified' for my characters. It's another cliché to keep from insulting actors who happen to be black. Why can't we just be people?"

Compare Rollins with Eddie Murphy or Richard Pryor, and the new ghettoizing of black stars is immediately apparent. Murphy and Pryor have parlayed their popularity into lucrative deals with the major studios, but they are basically comics; hip new models of the vaudeville Negro. "I don't think the country is ready for black leading men," Murphy declares.

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## Cinema

"White guys won't accept their ladies' going nuts over a black actor." Notes Playwright Fuller: "Americans trust black people when we sing, dance or tell jokes. It's when we stop laughing that people get itchy." So starring roles for blacks lean toward the comic and away from the romantic, which spells hard times for serious actors and serious films. Says Jewison: "There has to be room for films that don't have Richard Pryor in a chicken suit."

As history indicates, it could be worse, and it has been. In D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), the major Negro roles were played by whites in blackface. Hollywood's first black star, Stepin Fetchit, fitted the stereotype of the slow, sly, shuffling Negro. Meanwhile, the industry mostly ignored Paul Robeson (too strong, too smart, too sexy, too damned uppity) and denied Lena Horne her best potential movie roles, as the mulatto heroines of *Pinky* and *Show Boat*, handing the parts instead to Jeanne Crain and Ava Gardner. It was not until the rise to stardom of Sidney Poitier in the 1950s that blacks had a bankable movie hero. "To this day," argues Film Historian Donald Bogle, "Poitier remains the most important black actor. The image he presented made white audiences take black Americans seriously, at least while they sat in the movie theater."

Outside the theater, blacks were becoming hard to ignore, and their impact was refracted on the screen. "When schools were being desegregated," recalls Danny Glover, a likely Oscar nominee for his performance as the hobo in *Places in the Heart*, "you saw Poitier become a film star. And in the wake of the Watts riots and the push for community control, you got blaxploitation." These were the low-budget gangster and horror movies that, along with prestige efforts like *Sounder* and *Lady Sings the Blues*, detonated the explosion of black films in the early '70s. Suddenly directors like Gordon Parks and Melvin van Peebles had broken the color barrier, and Cicely Tyson and Diana Ross were crossover stars.

Too soon the fad faded in red ink and rancor. The same black community leaders who would urge Paramount Pictures to suppress Ralph Bakshi's "racist" film *Coonskin* (and, a decade later, Sam Fuller's *White Dog*) were condemning blaxploitation as image suicide. Moreover, white liberal producers, reluctant to portray black men as



1930s: Stepin Fetchit



1940s: Lena Horne



1950s: Sidney Poitier



1980s: Eddie Murphy

rapists and dopers, failed to come up with alternatives. "If you're not working," says Actor Stan Shaw (*Roots II*), "you don't get better."

John Sayles knows a number of black actors and knows that "there's a steady stream of work if they're willing to shoot people or get shot at. For actresses it's worse: you get to play hookers and once in a while a nurse." He resolved to use part of his MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant to help finance *The Brother from Another Planet*, a \$350,000 satire about a black extraterrestrial who lands in Harlem. A white man shooting in Soul-town with a cast that was 80% black could easily fall prey to presumption and condescension. The pleasant surprise of *The Brother* is how gracefully Sayles earns smiles and sympathy for his hero (Joe Morton) and his lank, loping comedy. In a rattling subway car, a cardsharp announces his next trick—"Wanna see me make all the white people disappear?"—as the subway doors open at the last uptown express stop before Harlem.

Some Hollywood executives believe that the same thing would happen if theater doors opened on a flurry of black movies. So it is seen as encouraging that in its first week *A Soldier's Story* broke house records in three of the five theaters showing it. "If the film is a success," says Charles Fuller, "there just might be room for other stories acknowledging that America is a multiracial society. Because we are part of the life of this country. We breathe. We buy Cottonelle. We go to the movies."

If film reflects life, it can also help shape it. Actor Paul Winfield (*Sounder*, *White Dog*) recalls growing up in Seattle in the 1940s. "All the blacks would sit in the movie theater balcony," he says. "Nigger heaven, they used to call it. Then one night we saw Stanley Kramer's *Home of the Brave*, the first picture we'd seen in which a black was not a Stepin Fetchit, and we resolved never to sit in the balcony again. The power of seeing a black face in a real role affected the whole city as I knew it." It remains for Hollywood to put more real black faces on the nation's screens, and for black actors to keep fighting to show their faces. As the tough sergeant grows in *A Soldier's Story*, "Not havin' is no excuse for not getting."

—By Richard Corliss.  
Reported by Elaine DuRka/New York and Denise Warrell/Los Angeles



## LIFESTYLE/HEALTHSTYLE

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In the October 8 Issue of TIME

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## Press

### Breaking the Liberal Pattern

*Quirky and provocative, the New Republic is surging in influence*

**O**f American institutions that wield intellectual influence far disproportionate to their size, from Ivy League colleges to the New Hampshire primary, few have had more enduring impact than the little magazines of political and literary opinion. At the 70-year-old *New Republic*, Owner Martin Peretz likes to say, "Our circulation is only 97,000, but it is the right 97,000." Among the magazine's subscribers: Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Jimmy Carter, Geraldine Ferraro and Edward Kennedy. Traditionally, the opinion magazines have preached to the

of a college dormitory during a particularly contentious bull session. The mostly young editors range from old-style liberals to neoconservatives, and while the magazine unequivocally supports Walter Mondale, several senior staffers say privately that they may vote for President Reagan. Says Editor Hendrik Hertzberg, 41: "We are carrying out in our pages the same debate that the Democratic Party is having about its future direction, with something of the same tentativeness and confusion."

Yet the effect in print is not middle, but barbed and often authoritative re-

praised for its perceptive coverage of this year's presidential campaign by Morton Kondracke, 45, and especially by Sidney Blumenthal, 35, in his early definition of Gary Hart's appeal as the *Big Chill* candidate. In a Republican Convention wrap-up, Blumenthal wrote, "Reagan is Miller Time, Mondale is the factory whistle... In the end, Americans want the pursuit of happiness, not blood, sweat and tears. Almost always, the party of leisure wins elections. In recent history, that is usually the party of deficits."

Founded as an offshoot of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Republicanism, the *New Republic* always championed liberalism, but defined it in varying ways. One early idol was Herbert Hoover, whom the magazine briefly touted as a presidential candidate for 1920. By the 1930s, the editorials were explicitly socialist. In 1946 former Vice President Henry Wallace became editor, before his left-wing campaign for President. But by 1952, the magazine had returned to the Democratic Party mainstream. Almost never profitable, it drew its funding from a succession of wealthy sponsors and its opinions from editors, including Walter Lippmann and Edmund Wilson Peretz, a Harvard social sciences teacher who inherited some money and whose wife is an heiress, revamped both the magazine's politics and its eclectic cultural section; it covers primarily scholarly books, theater (reviews by Robert Brustein), movies (reviews by Stanley Kauffmann) and, says Literary Editor Leon Wieseltier, "anything I can find about Israel, the nuclear issue or the ballet."

Financially, the magazine has turned around from losses of about \$850,000 a year on a budget of \$2 million to projected losses this year of about \$50,000 on expenditures of about \$3.5 million. The major innovations: nearly doubling the subscription price in three years, from \$24 to \$45, with almost no loss in renewal rate; more aggressive pursuit of national advertising for liquor, tobacco, automobiles and other consumer products; upgraded paper and a color cover to be more attractive on the newsstand. Next year Peretz projects achieving the all but unthinkable for an opinion magazine: a small profit.

A principal architect of this success is the magazine's publisher, James Glassman, 37. Last week Peretz's friend Mortimer Zuckerman lured Glassman away, with Peretz's permission, to become a top executive at *U.S. News & World Report* (circ. 2.1 million). Zuckerman takes over as owner of the newsweekly next month. Editor Hertzberg has also served notice that he is interested in eventually exploring other careers. But Peretz asserts that the magazine will readily attract able executives. Says Peretz: "The one sure thing at this unpredictable magazine is that we will go on being unpredictable." —*By William A. Henry III*



Debating the Democrats' future: Hertzberg, left, and Peretz backed by recent covers

converted, offering the dependable pleasures of a party line. But since Peretz bought the liberal weekly in 1974, he has guided it to enhanced revenues and much heightened influence by making it resolutely unpredictable. While proclaiming itself still part of the left, the *New Republic* has opposed campaign reforms and spending limits, the nuclear freeze, Jesse Jackson's presidential candidacy and affirmative action quotas, and has supported military aid to El Salvador. Only this month, the magazine endorsed the assertive defense and foreign policies of the Republican platform. Explains Peretz: "Some people say we are schizophrenic. Yet these are times when even the most thoughtful people are ambivalent."

What gives the *New Republic* its quirky, thought-provoking appeal is its openness to multiple points of view, often expressed in the same issue. The magazine's warren of offices in downtown Washington, eight blocks from the White House, has something of the atmosphere

of a college dormitory during a particularly contentious bull session. The mostly young editors range from old-style liberals to neoconservatives, and while the magazine unequivocally supports Walter Mondale, several senior staffers say privately that they may vote for President Reagan. Says Editor Hendrik Hertzberg, 41: "We are carrying out in our pages the same debate that the Democratic Party is having about its future direction, with something of the same tentativeness and confusion."

Yet the effect in print is not middle, but barbed and often authoritative re-

soning. Says *Commentary* Editor Norman Podhoretz: "*New Republic* has become indispensable for anyone seriously interested in the climate of political opinion." Syndicated Columnist George Will describes the magazine's writers, particularly Essayist Charles Krauthammer (who also contributes Essays to *TIME*), as among the country's most discerning. Michael Kinsley, 33, has made the magazine's "TRB" column an eccentric but successful blend of sardonic humor and compassion for some unlikely subjects, including Michael Jackson and lottery-ticket buyers. The magazine is less beloved by some of its traditional subscribers: many of those who canceled complained of the shift in tone. Editor Victor Navasky of the rival *Nation* (circ. 53,000) notes that the *New Republic*'s diversity rarely extends to airing the views of true radicals. The magazine is inflexible in its support of Israel and has what Hertzberg concedes is an "obsession with the Middle East."

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## Books

### A Winning Rebel with a Lost Cause

THE INK TRUCK by William Kennedy; Viking; 278 pages; \$15.95

To literary New York, it was the equivalent of somebody's winning the state lottery. A middle-aged novelist, burdened with debts, a leaky roof and a bruised ego, suddenly found himself celebrated and rich. It was as sudden as the surprise phone call that informed William Kennedy, 56, that the MacArthur Foundation was giving him one of its "genius awards": \$264,000 tax free with no strings attached.

Thereafter, Kennedy's phone never stopped ringing. "Congratulations. The National Book Critics Circle has just named *Ironweed* the best novel of 1983." "Congratulations. *Ironweed* has been awarded a Pulitzer Prize." Callers from the West Coast snatched up the film rights to earlier novels. *Legs* and *Billy Phelan's Greatest Game*. Francis Ford Coppola hired the author to write the script for his \$45 million movie *The Cotton Club*; and the public library of Albany, New York State's capital and the author's home town, proclaimed a William Kennedy Day to honor its first native literary star since Bret Harte.

One of the bonuses of such success is that a writer is virtually assured that anything he writes—or has written—will be published. *The Ink Truck* is Kennedy's first novel. Dial brought it out in 1969, a time when even the most unbuttoned fiction could not compete against reality. There was more than enough anarchy on the front pages, and few critics took notice of a book about a journalist's buffoonish terror tactics during a newspaper strike. Read then, *The Ink Truck* might easily have been mistaken for a political statement about the freedom-loving workers' battle against the oppressive Establishment. Now, by the limelight of the Kennedy phenomenon, the book can be seen freshly for what it is: a bawdy Celtic romp reminiscent of J.P. Donleavy's 30-year-old tour de force, *The Ginger Man*.

Elements of the story are loosely drawn from experience. In 1963 Kennedy returned

from Puerto Rico, where he had been managing editor of the English-language San Juan *Star*, to write features for the Albany *Times-Union*. He soon found himself walking a picket line as a member of the striking Newspaper Guild. In *The Ink Truck*, the



William Kennedy outside the state capitol in Albany

real is bent into the surreal. Dinky neighborhoods are weirdly illuminated by arsonists' flames; alleys echo to pagan rites. Old World myths are superimposed on the present. There are elegiac hallucinations of the past and an up-to-date orgy, a perky sketch of a bare female torso, and batty headlines, such as PIGS ARE WHERE YOU FIND THEM, OUT-LAW DECIDES: SOU! IS A PORK CHOP, HE DISCOVERS.

Presiding over all this is a columnist

named Bailey, a highly sexed free spirit with a loud checkered sports jacket, a long green scarf and a chip on his shoulder as big as the state capitol. The plot can be described as what happens when this immovable object meets guards with billy clubs, gypsies with evil powers, women with irresistible charms and important men of crushing influence.

Bloodied but unbudged, Bailey and a small cohort refuse to acknowledge that the strike is over. He harasses the Guildsmen, intimidates management and dreams of emptying a truck full of ink outside the newspaper's offices. Dreams are in fact what Bailey is largely about: "A man could act on dreams as he acted upon thought. A man could act upon delusions as he acted upon dreams. They would have only a private validity. No one would be able to accept them; but neither could anyone negate them."

With his private validity, Bailey is a forerunner of Kennedy's later outsider heroes: the romantic Legs Diamond roaring confidently through the '20s, gun in hand; Billy Phelan conquering Albany with bowling ball and pool cue; and Phelan's father, Francis, a tormented bum stripped of everything except his will to endure.

*The Ink Truck* rolls to a poignant conclusion, yet it does not show Kennedy at his full spellbinding power. Much of the book is inspired blarney, fun to read and probably fun to write. There are willing wenches, dramatic confrontations and Bailey's gift for subversive gab: "Nietzsche generalized that all good things approach their goals crookedly, and so for very crooked reasons I'll put his idea to the test." But page by page, scene by scene, Kennedy's prose is lean, energetic and grounded in the detail and humanity that keep Bailey from becoming that fatal cliché, larger than life.

—By R.Z. Sheppard

For 20 years, William Kennedy has been in the right place at the right time: behind his typewriter nearly every day. Holed up in his 19th century farmhouse in Averill Park, N.Y., Kennedy recalls, "I never expected a whole lot in the early days, but I always hoped for a great deal."

### Excerpt

“ The ink truck bled of its ink grew larger as Bailey thought of it. A gesture at last that would be more than a gesture. It would be the transfiguration of a protest. He would be done with the mortifying slouch of the timid piss ant. Something moved in his center, urging itself upward from the grave. Seeds. Transfigured. Up, up! The crust of the

grave began to crack. Isn't it grand what a little call to adventure can do for you, Bailey. Does Bailey love a challenge? Do eggsuckers suck eggs?

He entered the Guild room, sat once again, stared at the photo once again, felt at ease in old contours once again, was swept over with joy, doom, nostalgia. ”



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## Books

The voice carries the deliberate calm of a man who has struggled singly and triumphed over great odds. One thinks of Gary Cooper in the last scenes of *High Noon*, though Kennedy now sees himself living in a smash movie by Federico Fellini.

*La dolce vita?* "Well," says Dana, the author's wife of 27 years, "the day he got the MacArthur grant, he went around the house repeating, 'How sweet it is.'" Nearly a year and a half later, Kennedy is still tasting successes. On a European tour he will promote foreign-language editions of his novels. The State University of New York at Albany, where Kennedy holds a professorship, sponsored a weekend of cultural events in his honor. In addition, one of the writer's best-known fans, New York Governor Mario Cuomo, signed a bill granting \$100,000 a year to support a series of writing workshops and lectures that Kennedy started at SUNY with a \$15,000 grant. "You become successful, and the first thing you turn into is a patron of the arts," he was told by Saul Bellow, who once instructed the younger writer in a fiction class, and encouraged him to persevere at the craft.

That was 1960, when Kennedy was a journalist in San Juan and the future Nobel prizewinner was a visiting teacher at the University of Puerto Rico. The island was also where Kennedy met Dana Sosa, a gifted dancer-singer who forsook the stage to raise three children and help her husband buy time to write during the lean years.

*Ironweed* was turned down 13 times, frequently with the comment "Who wants to read a book about a bum?" Bellow did, and afterward wrote a stern letter to Viking, the house that originally rejected the book: "That the author of *Billy Phelan* should have a manuscript kicking around looking for a publisher is disgraceful." The admonishment worked. Not only was *Ironweed* published to high praise but interest revived in Kennedy's previous novels, *Billy Phelan* and *Legs*, a fictional treatment of the life of Jack ("Legs") Diamond.

All of the books are set within the city's limits. "The literature I care about most comes out of a deeply rooted sense of place," says Kennedy. "Without this element, the work is often reduced to a cry of voices in empty rooms, a literature of the self, at its best poetic music; at its worst, a thin gruel of the ego." The author's fondest appreciation of his birthplace is *O Albany* (1984), three parts raffish history to one part autobiography.

His father William was a frequent gambler and political factotum from the capital's North End, the textures and tones of which fill all of Kennedy's work. In progress is *Quinn's Book*, another novel in the Albany cycle. Kennedy is increasing his nonwriting stake in the city as well. He recently bought the downtown rooming house where Legs Diamond was shot dead in 1931.

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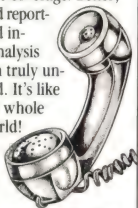
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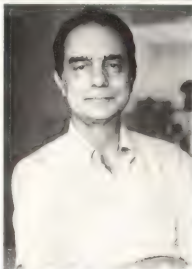


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Italo Calvino: no hint of narrative nudging

## Time Lapse

*DIFFICULT LOVES* by Italo Calvino  
*Harcourt Brace Jovanovich*  
290 pages; \$14.95

When a writer achieves international renown, translators and publishers work overtime spreading all of the new celebrity's good words. This commendable practice has an unsettling side effect: careers can appear to run backward. The case of Italian Author Italo Calvino is instructive. His reputation grew from such cerebral narratives as *Cosmicomics* (1968) and *Invisible Cities* (1974); before long, Calvino's name was being bracketed between those of Borges and Nabokov in the fabulists' Hall of Fame. When *Italian Folk Tales* was translated and published in the U.S. in 1980, Calvino's exquisitely simple retellings of traditional material won richly deserved praise. Somewhat lost in the acclaim was the fact that the book, so different from the author's fictional experiments, had been issued in Italy in 1956. Similarly, *Marcovaldo* (1983) offered a series of short stories in time-lapse translation. Calvino had not, appearances to the contrary, suddenly reverted to the methods of postwar neorealism: these were simply works that he had written after the war.

*Difficult Loves* may further confound the unwary. All of its 28 stories date from the 1940s and '50s. Their language (some pieces have been translated by William Weaver, the rest by Archibald Colquhoun and Peggy Wright) is straightforward, with nary a hint of narrative nudging. A few seem little more than sketches; in *A Ship Loaded with Crabs*, for instance, a group of young boys explores a half-sunken hulk, repulses a boarding by a rival gang, and then swims off. But that is not quite all. A resonance lingers: the sound of splashing and the play of light and shadow remain to tease the imagination. If he

had never gone beyond the skill displayed in these early efforts, the world might not have recognized Calvino; but the touch of the born storyteller is here all the same.

*Animal Woods* combines the desperate privations of war with the improbable magic of fable. The poor residents of an Italian village have learned how to cope with the unwelcome incursions of Fascist and German troops. They and their livestock just disappear into the nearby forest. During one such raid, a peasant seems in danger of losing his prized cow to a soldier. Fortunately, the beast leads the invader into confusion: "The German on his way through the woods was making discoveries that left him open-mouthed: chickens perched on trees, guinea pigs peering from hollow trunks. It was a complete Noah's ark." In *The Adventure of a Bather*, a respectable signora is horrified to discover that the bottom of her new-fangled two-piece bathing suit has come off while she swims near a crowded beach. She realizes that her romantic fantasies of being rescued by an anonymous male have been sadly misguided; the possible saviors now splashing in her vicinity all strike her as suspicious and sinister, "as if each of those men had been daydreaming for years of a woman to whom what had happened to her would happen, and these men spent their summers at the sea hoping to be present at the right moment."

The sea is a recurrent presence in these stories, both as an elemental force that frees characters from land-based obligations and, more insistently, as a lens on another world. In *The Adventure of a Reader*, the hero compares a printed page to the plane of water "that separates us from that blue-and-green world, rifts as far as the eye can see, expanses of fine, ribbed sand, creatures half animal and half vegetable." All of the scenes in *Difficult Loves* share some of this limpid strangeness: Calvino's deep visions seen before he began, inventively and entertainingly, to ruffle the surface.

—By Paul Gray

## Style Out of Life

*NEW FASHION JAPAN*  
by Leonard Koren  
*Kodansha*; 176 pages; \$19.95

It may be that the latest major movement of national popular culture to have international impact—like the French new wave in films or the British invasion of American rock music—is clothing from Japan. Fashion has generally been tied to society, to frivolity, to pricey artifice in the service of camp and commerce. It is a subject that seldom rates serious attention. There are not, after all, a lot of clothing designers who deserve it. But of those who do, a disproportionate number are Japanese. If someone as gifted as Issey Miyake were making movies, he would already be hailed as a world master, with grand prizes and retrospectives. As it is, however, honor in this chosen field is mostly a matter of a



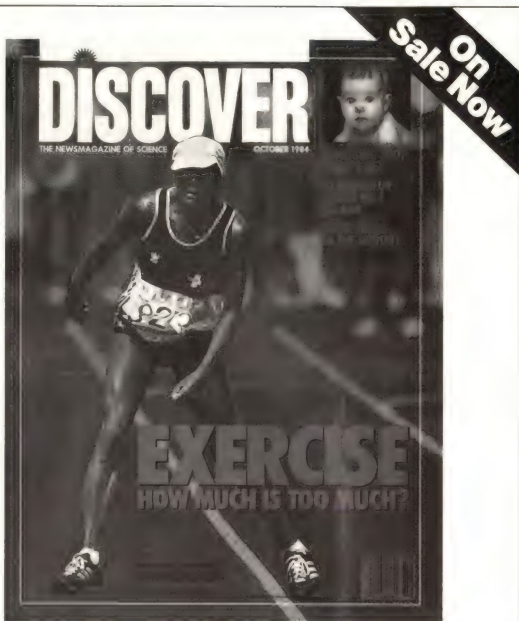
Issey Miyake outfitting a model in Tokyo

new boutique opening and bare shelves before the season ends.

Miyake is the luckiest of his peers; he is also the most insistent on the aesthetic worth and quality of his work. For years he has received international recognition; recently he has been accorded museum shows in Europe and the U.S. Other Japanese designers will get their first official portion of Western respect from *New Fashion Japan*, a fast, smart and wholly seductive volume. Leonard Koren's sleek text is augmented with graphics that convey the essence of contemporary Japanese clothing design, plus a suggestion of its enterprise and a taste of its excitement.

Short photo essays concentrate on seven designers, among them Miyake, the ebulliently inventive Yohji Yamamoto, and Rei Kawakubo, whose designs demonstrate what Koren calls "irony, image juxtaposition and whimsy... the purest, most uncompromising and strongest avant-garde vision." The book also includes chapters of careful observation on history and tradition, fabric design, graphic display and body structure (illustrated with vintage photos of women who dive for fish outside a village east of Tokyo). "I make style out of life," Miyake says, "not style out of style." The roots of that life are beautifully revealed in a series of candid photos put together almost like a jump-cut documentary on Tokyo street life, showing everyone from a roadworker wearing rubberized rain gear to a peddler, a Buddhist monk and a junk collector.

Koren is untroubled by the customary Western distinctions between art and handicraft. "In the dreamlike language of fashion," he believes, "a people are communicating the current ideals, values and aspirations of their culture." That idea may be refuted; it may be bought wholesale, on time or at close-out; but the best place to window-shop while thinking it over is this shrewd and knowing introduction to a closet revolution. —By Jay Cocks



## The perils of keeping fit

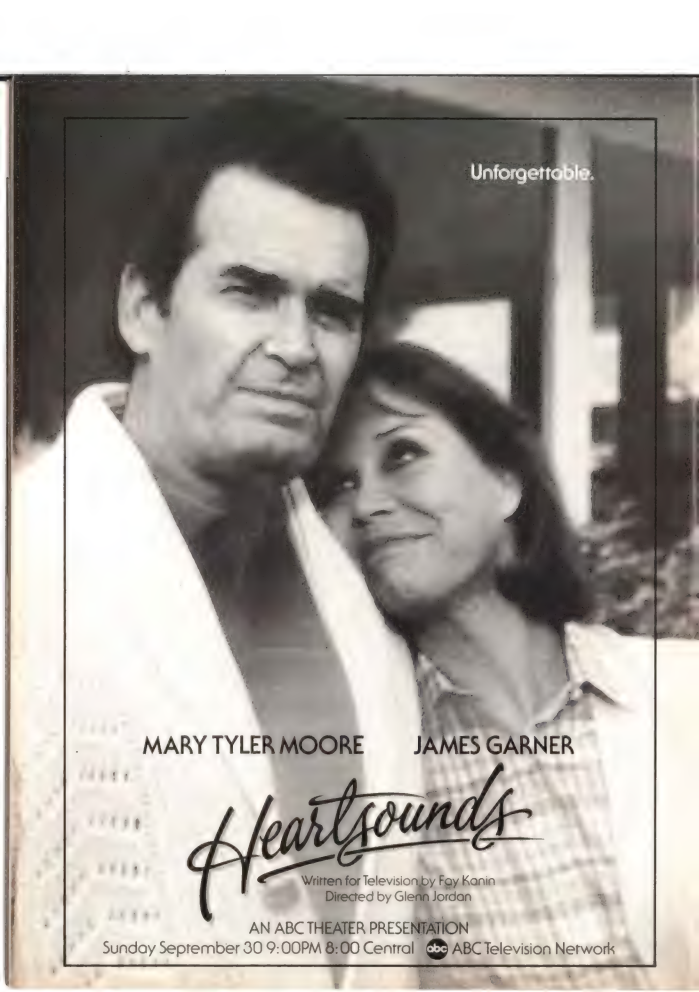
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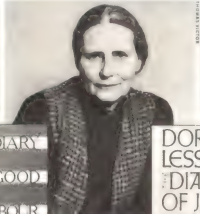
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## The Golden Hoax Book

A celebrated author creates her strangest fiction

The trouble with Jane Somers' first novel, *The Diary of a Good Neighbor*, was not that it was poorly reviewed but that it was scarcely reviewed at all. The few critics who noticed the book liked it, but Somers, identified on the book jacket as the pseudonym of a "well-known English woman journalist," drew modest attention in Britain and the U.S. A sequel, *If the Old Could . . .*, published early this year, would probably have found its way to a remainder bin if the real author had not revealed herself last week. The literary world on both sides of the Atlantic was astonished to find that the celebrated British novelist Doris Lessing was behind the elaborate hoax.

Lessing, 64, author of such works as *The Golden Notebook* and *Briefing for a Descent into Hell*, is one of the most serious and protean writers in the world. Why did she stop at the height of her career to play the prankster? Her intent, as she explains in the preface to an upcoming one-volume paperback edition of the Somers novels, was partly to show how difficult it is for the work of unknown authors to attract wide attention. On a more personal level, she wanted to twist the critics who have insisted on pigeonholing her: first as a feminist writer, later as a purveyor of visionary science fiction. "I wanted to be reviewed on merit, as a new writer, without the benefit of a 'name,'" she asserts, "to get free of that cage of associations and labels that every established writer has to learn to live inside."



RENEE KREMER



Doris Lessing, in the guise of Jane Somers and unmasked in an upcoming volume



The contemporary setting and realistic style of *The Diary of a Good Neighbor*—the memoir of a successful middle-aged magazine editor who befriends a lonely old woman—seem to have fooled nearly everyone. The manuscript was first sent incognito to two of Lessing's British publishers. Both rejected it without recognizing Lessing's touch. A third, remarking that the style bore a resemblance to Lessing's, agreed to publish the novel in Britain and was let in on the secret. But only Robert Gottlieb, editor in chief of Knopf and a close friend of Lessing's, recognized the real author at first glance when he was shown the manuscript by

her agent in 1982. "As soon as I read it, I burst into laughter," he says, "because it was a voice that is so well known to me."

Gottlieb kept the secret from his colleagues, and Knopf treated the two novels no differently from those of any other new writer. With no author or sensational subject matter to promote, the result was "exactly what you'd expect," says Gottlieb: a handful of reviews and modest sales of just under 3,000 copies each. Hard-cover editions of Lessing novels usually sell between 15,000 and 30,000 in the U.S.

Lessing decided to end the ruse after word of Somers' true identity began to leak out. But she is amazed that none of the books' readers or reviewers were able to identify her prose. "We thought we couldn't possibly get away with it," she told TIME. "The single most astonishing fact is that nobody guessed it was me." The mild ripple created by her books was less surprising. "A very good first novel can get published and get good reviews and then vanish," she said. "Few publishers have the attitude they used to have: keep the writers in print."

True to form, Lessing is staying one step ahead of her critics. She has finished a new novel, her 19th, to be published next year. It concerns a young Englishwoman who drifts into terrorist activity, an apparent return to the political subject matter of Lessing's earlier work. Despite "a few very nice fan letters," she has no plans to resurrect Jane Somers in print, though fans and critics will undoubtedly race to find the pseudonymous works and fit them into Lessing's oeuvre. The irony of that does not escape the author. Were it not for her unmasking, Lessing points out, "poor old Jane Somers could have faded away forever."

—By Richard Zoglin

## Milestones

**MARRIED.** *Gilda Radner*, 38, high-strung, quirky comedian who skittered from *Saturday Night Live* to films, most recently *The Woman in Red*, and her co-star in that film, *Gene Wilder*, 49, frizzy-haired actor, writer and director who specializes in playing jumpy, self-deprecating shlemiels: she for the second time, he for the third; in Saint-Paul-de-Vence, a tiny hilltop village in southern France. The quiet wedding was limited to a few guests. Noted Wilder: "The world is becoming a giant McDonald's stand, and it's nice to find a quiet village, 900 years old, where the only reason people look at you is because you make a very lovely couple."

**SEPARATED.** *John De Lorean*, 59, flamboyant creator of the ill-fated sports car that bears his name, who was acquitted one month ago of federal charges of conspiracy to distribute \$24 million worth of cocaine, and *Cristina Ferrare*, 34, raven-haired cover girl who is the frothy new

co-host of a Southern California morning TV talk show; after eleven years of marriage: in Los Angeles. The split is described as a "trial separation" by De Lorean's attorney, and the pair is currently seeing a marriage counselor. Notes Ferrare's manager, Arthur Gregory: "What you've got is two years of hell and a lot going on in their lives that they never had a chance to address."

**RECOVERING.** *Menachem Begin*, 71, former Prime Minister of Israel who resigned last September for reasons that to this day he has not fully explained; after a 90-min. operation to remove his prostate; at Shaare Zedek Hospital; in Jerusalem. Begin is reported to be in good condition.

**DIED.** *Richard Basehart*, 70, sonorous-voiced actor whose wide-ranging career included such distinctive roles as the dying Scotsman in Broadway's *The Hasty Heart*, the mournful clown in Fellini's film *La Strada*,

and the stern submarine admiral on television's *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea*; of a stroke: in Los Angeles. The son of a newspaperman from Zanesville, Ohio, Basehart consistently sought to avoid stereotypes and expand his range as an actor. In later years he used his authoritative baritone to do narrations and readings, as he did at the closing ceremonies of this summer's Olympics.

**DIED.** *Carl J. Friedrich*, 83, German-born Harvard professor of government for nearly half a century and the author of numerous influential books on Western political thought and philosophy; in Lexington, Mass. A prolific scholar, provocative teacher and constitutional expert particularly noted for pioneering works on totalitarianism (*An Introduction to Political Theory*). Friedrich served as an adviser to the American military governor of West Germany after World War II, helping shape the constitution of the Federal Republic.

## Sport

### Excellence by the Yard

*Franco Harris and Walter Payton: doing it up Brown*

The jarring sight of an old athlete in a new uniform is common, though these images fade with such dispatch that the players are wise not to do the same. No one pictures Babe Ruth, Johnny Unitas and Bob Cousy as a Boston Brave, a San Diego Charger and a Cincinnati Royal. Joe Namath's farewell passes wobbled not in the cause of the New York Jets but on behalf of the Los Angeles Rams. The sweeping fullback of the Green Bay Packers, Jim Taylor, was swept out with the New Orleans Saints.

Taylor is the only man who ever out-rushed Jim Brown in a National Football League season. Brown's infirm year of 1962, when the Cleveland runner

of the Rooney family's sentimental nature. Since Franco's familiar 32 was spoken for in Seattle, he took 34, his old college number but also his age.

Thirteen yards in ten stabs against New England a week ago inched him over 12,000. It was an embarrassing game that the Seahawks led by 23 points and lost by 15. Patriot Rookie Irving Fryar caught the first touchdown pass of his pro career. Even before Harris had shed all of his armor afterward, Fryar appeared at Franco's stall and quietly sat down next to a bald man with an amiable smile, Bill Gordon, who happened to coach them



The new Seahawk looking to take off



The maker of the 12,312 mark, in 1963



The fire-eater going against Green Bay

gained only 996 yds. Over nine seasons, back when N.F.L. schedules were two to four games shorter, Brown accumulated 12,312 yds. in 2,359 carries, an average of 5.2. At the top of his game after gathering 1,544 yds. and 21 touchdowns to become the M.V.P. of 1965, he called a press conference on the movie set of *The Dirty Dozen* and retired at 29. Brown had always been something of a bad actor and decided to enter the profession formally.

In all the years since, despite every accommodation that rule changers have made to the offenses, only in attempts has Brown been passed. Going on 13 seasons, Franco Harris has logged 549 more carries, and Walter Payton has counted 370 more in his tenth year. Both are breathing heavily on the yardage record, Franco wheezing slightly. Eternally a Pittsburgh Steeler, he is presently a Seattle Seahawk, having miscalculated the breaking point

both in high school. Gordon regarded the two players with the pleasure of an architect imagining his last house adjoining his first. To Fryar, 21, the thought of just having shared a field with Franco Harris was stupefying. For Harris, these episodes of *This Is Your Life* do not let up. Lynn Swann, his old Steeler roommate, materialized to unsnap his shoulder pads for him, the way he used to.

"He has told his new teammates that he isn't here for the yardage, but to win," said Swann. "If they believe him, he'll help them grow." Franco's class has graduated: Swann, Joe Greene, Terry Bradshaw, Mel Blount. "Nobody was bigger than the team," Harris said. "Right now, I'm not even thinking of the record, because I've got to get myself squared away in the system." But he wants to

break it, and he would like to be first.

On Harris' 13-yr. afternoon, Walter Payton had 110 yds. in Green Bay to close within 34 of Franco and 337 of Brown. It is descriptive of Payton's decade in Chicago that the Bears required every foot of it to win, 9-7. While Harris has celebrated four triumphant Super Bowls, Payton has never won so much as a playoff game. Though 6 ft. 2 in., 225 lbs., Harris is the discreet player; at 5 ft. 10½ in., 202 lbs., Payton is the fire-eater. In fact, Brown's resentment of Franco's economy and caution had him threatening to come back at 48. He approves of Payton, who often tackles the tacklers.

Payton only seems single-minded: "I'm 30 now. Every time I had to do some hard therapy [after double arthroscopic knee surgery last April], I'd think about the record. It worked." But now that he is sound, is his promise to beat Harris to the mark so important? "Well, I'd

like to keep my word. But when it's all over with, I don't want to be remembered as a statistic."

One of Franco's new blockers, one of O.J. Simpson's old blockers, Reggie McKenzie, 34, dressed a few lockers away. "You play football first because you like it," he observed. "Pride. Money. Records. Yeah, but you play because you like it." And, to no particular point, he mused, "You know, O.J. would have given back a lot of yards to be called champion." When Simpson, who gained 11,236 yds. in eleven seasons, was at the height of his powers, the running argument was three-sided: Brown, O.J. or Gale Sayers, though Sayers' injuries had held him to five full seasons. One afternoon Simpson was analyzing the numbers brightly when abruptly he stopped. "It's Sayers," he said solemnly. "All you had to do was see him." So maybe they can't be measured by the yard. —By Tom Callahan



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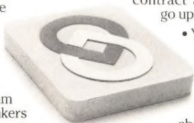
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T04

## Behavior

### The Most Powerful Bond of All

*A mother-son relationship can sometimes exact a heavy price*

Industrialist Andrew Carnegie's mother begged him not to marry until after she died; he waited one year after her death and finally wed at 52. Dwight Eisenhower interrupted planning of the Allied invasion of France in May 1944 to send a Mother's Day greeting to Ida Eisenhower in Kansas. When Franklin Roosevelt was quarantined with scarlet fever at boarding school, his distraught mother Sara climbed a ladder each day to peer through the window of his room to check on his recovery. Actor James Dean explained his troubled life this way: "My mother died on me when I was nine years old. What does she expect me to do? Do it all alone!"

The cord that unites mother and son may be Western society's most powerful bond, yet attitudes toward the relationship are either murky or coated over with cliché. "We think we're comfortable with it, but culturally what we get are caricatures," argues Carole Klein, a longtime observer of the dynamics of family relationships. Klein, 48, who shuttles between running group counseling sessions for women in New York City and writing about psychology and sociology, is the author of *The Single Parent Experience* (1973), *The Myth of the Happy Child* (1975) and this year's *Mothers and Sons* (Houghton Mifflin; \$14.95).

In the popular, and distorted, view, says Klein, Mom is either asexual and saintly or a devouring harriard who lives vicariously through her son and whose traumatizing influence is responsible for "everything that goes wrong, from failure in school to homosexuality." Such skewed portraits deny the richness and the intensity of the connection. "Indeed," says Klein, "the tie is stronger than that between father and son and father and daughter. Fathers can mitigate or reinforce a mother's views, but she is the life-giver and, even in today's changing society, still the chief nurturing figure in the family. The bond is also more complex than the one between mother and daughter. For a woman, a son offers the best chance to know the mysterious male existence."

*Mothers and Sons* was inspired by women's confidences, revealed in group discussions, about the troubling attitudes men bring to marriage. The book also springs from Klein's perception that there

were gender-associated differences in the way she responded as a young mother to her own son William, now 27, and daughter Emily, 23, and the way they responded to her. "I tended to be more self-conscious with William," she recalls, "and more spontaneous with Emily."

Klein culled professional and literary works and consulted dozens of psychologists and psychiatrists for her book. She also drew heavily on questionnaires filled



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*Mother's Eternal Presence*

out by 500 mothers, ranging in age from their late 20s to late 60s. Almost half the women had in-depth follow-up discussions. Two hundred men, aged 15 to late 50s, most of them unrelated to the female respondents, were interviewed at length.

For many women, says Klein, a son means a sense of completeness. Said one subject: "It's as if, through him, I've found the missing half of myself." Fathers do not identify as strongly with daughters, seeing their role more as protector. The feeling of creating a lost half may account for the extraordinarily close relationship between some mothers and sons, but it is not without dangers. As the boy matures and is shaped by the woman's sensibilities, he may emerge as his mother's perfect man, her emotional and intellectual mate. Says Klein: "The mother may have to acknowledge that her son, not her husband, is the man she would have liked to marry."

A central dilemma for mother and son is when to ease the tie. "Traditionally," says Klein, "we encourage an emotional and physical distancing from mothers earlier in boys than in girls." Part of the reason is fear of the erotic potential of the bond, but in addition there is the cultural belief that boys should be stoic, competitive and independent. Klein believes the separation comes too soon for boys, and they pay a heavy price: "I'm convinced it is what creates fears of intimacy and makes them unable to express their feelings as adults." One sign that we may be putting too many early pressures on boys: many men say the happiest memories of their mothers are those that center on a child-


hood illness, when the boys dropped their fears of appearing unmanly and allowed themselves to be comforted unstintingly. "My mother would sit near my bed after she brought me lunch, and we'd listen to soap operas together," one man recalled. "When I went back to school, it was as if I'd been completely revitalized."

Curiously, the feminist movement, which has done much to break traditional gender roles, has been slow in turning its attention to the way boys are reared. "Feminists," notes Klein, "have been devoted to strengthening the lives of daughters, largely by adopting male traits. But we have neglected to prepare boys to be the mates of liberated daughters by fostering some feminine traits. Mothers agitate more to get their daughters admitted to a shop class or a ball team than they do to get sons into a sewing or dance group."

Feminists, says the author, have belatedly recognized that their resentment against a male-dominated society is sometimes misdirected against their sons. For some mothers a male child can become a symbol of male oppression. One concerned activist has put a lid on the more rabid rhetoric when her son is around, explaining, "How can he not grow up to be hostile toward women if they always seem so hostile to him?"

Klein is remarkably reticent about her own relationship with her son William, a public-radio producer. He is more forthcoming. His admiring view of women, he believes, was shaped in great part by his mother's ability to juggle career, marriage and children. He remembers a poster she once tacked up in her office at home. "It said SUPERMOM WORKS HERE," recalls William Klein. "And, you know, she was right."

—By Anastasia Toulfexis



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